



Daily Report

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CONTENTS

24 March 1989

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

SDI 'Enthusiasts' Try To Influence White House [PRAVDA 20 Mar] 1

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

* CEMA Need To Develop Integration Discussed [PRAVDA 20 Mar] 2

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Perfilyev Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 23 Mar 5
 Announces Gorbachev To Visit Cuba, UK [TASS] 5
 Updates Afghanistan Situation [Moscow Radio] 5
 Hungary's Grosz To Visit [MTI] 5
 Indian Ocean Seminar To Be Held [TASS] 6
 UN Human Rights Delegate Reviews Progress [Sofia ANTENI No 11] 6
 Official Comments on New Customs Regulations [TASS] 7
 * Scholar Stresses Cooperation Against Hijackers [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 19 Mar] 7

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Baker 'Evidently' To Meet Gorbachev in May [TASS] 9
 U.S. Expels Soviet Trade Official, Family [TASS] 9
 Charges From U.S. Newsmen in USSR 'Nonsense' [Kornilov on TASS] 9
 U.S. Sovietologist Urges Caution in Soviet Ties [IZVESTIYA 11 Mar] 10

China

Sino-Soviet Unity in Cause of Peace Urged [Ivanov on Moscow International] 10
 USSR, PRC Can 'Enrich' Each Other on Reform [Nikolayev on Moscow International] 11
 Chinese Labor To Be Used in 18 Soviet Projects [Moscow International] 11
 New PRC Rules Promote Use of Tibetan Language [IZVESTIYA 20 Mar] 11
 Wartime Soviet Advisers to China Publish Memoirs [Moscow International] 11

Northeast Asia

Rogachev, Japan's Kuriyama View Talks [TASS] 12
 Takeshita Speech on Japan Military Role Viewed [Kalinin on Moscow International] 12
 * ROK Economy, Relations With USSR Viewed [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 11] 12

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Support for Cambodian Rebels Criticized [Moscow International] 14
 More Arms to Cambodian Rebels May Lead to War [Fedorov on Moscow International] 15
 Prospects for Cambodian Settlement Viewed [Moscow International] 15
 Deputy Premier Gusev Receives PRK Ambassador [PRAVDA 22 Mar] 16
 Cambodian Buddhist Leader Views Peace Prospects 16
 Questions Sihanouk's Popularity [IZVESTIYA 17 Mar] 16
 Criticizes Khmer Rouge [Moscow International] 17
 USSR Signs Cultural Accord With Australia [TASS] 17

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Discusses Afghanistan Situation [PRAVDA 24 Mar]	17
Varennikov Denies USSR Holding Afghan Corridor [TASS]	22
Afghan Statement Urges U.S. To Reopen Embassy [TASS]	22
Nangarhar Province, Jalalabad Fighting Reported [TASS]	22
Rebel Offensive Against Jalalabad Described [PRAVDA 24 Mar]	23
Military Situation Around Kabul Described [IZVESTIYA 24 Mar]	24
Afghan Security Forces Seize Arms in Kabul [TASS]	24
86 Underground Groups 'Exposed' Since 18 Feb [PRAVDA 23 Mar]	25
* Release of POW's in Afghanistan Discussed [TRUD 21 Mar]	26
Pakistan Said Behind Afghanistan 'Fabrications' [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Mar]	26
Defense Minister Yazov To Visit Syria in March [TASS]	27
'Tangible Progress' in Egypt-Syria Mediation [Cairo AL-WAFD 21 Mar]	27
'Arafat Meets Press on U.S.-PLO Talks [TASS]	27
Bessmertnykh Receives Algerian Ambassador [TASS]	28
Bessmertnykh Meets Omani Ambassador 23 Mar [TASS]	28
Gonsalves Named Indian Ambassador to USSR [Delhi Radio]	28
Lukyanov Receives New Bangladesh Ambassador [TASS]	28

East Europe

Hungary's Grosz Visiting USSR 23-24 Mar	28
Views Hungary's Political Pluralism [Moscow TV]	28
Arrives in Moscow, Met by Yakovlev [TASS]	29
Meets With Gorbachev [TASS]	29
Gorbachev Comments on 'Democracy' [Budapest Radio]	29

West Europe

Yakovlev Comments on 'Enthusiasm' at PCI Congress [Moscow International]	29
Secretary General Delivers Report at PCI Congress [PRAVDA 19 Mar]	30
EEC Defense Integration Discussion Viewed [PRAVDA 17 Mar]	34

Latin America & Caribbean

* U.S. Coverage of Soviet-Cuban Relations Viewed [TRUD 19 Mar]	34
Chilean Communist Party Issues Communiqué [Moscow International]	36

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Ammonia Tank Fire Extinguished; Evacuees Returning [Moscow Radio]	37
Continued Reportage on Election Campaigns, Results	37
Yeltsin Denies Leading 'Opposition' [London International]	37
Italian Daily Interviews Yeltsin [Rome ANSA]	38
Solovyev Speaks in Leningrad [TASS]	39
Vlasov Meets Rostov Combine Builders [Moscow TV]	39
Latvian Leader Faces Possible Defeat [London DAILY TELEGRAPH 23 Mar]	40
Journalists' Union Elections [IZVESTIYA 23 Mar]	40
Social Organizations' Elections [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 19 Mar]	41
Academy Elects Deputies 23 Mar [TASS]	41
Candidate Represents Psychology [Moscow TV]	41
* Procedures for Voting on Deputies Clarified [TRUD 18 Mar]	42
Consumer Cooperatives Congress Proceedings Reported [PRAVDA 21 Mar]	43
Maslyukov Explains Draft Law on Republic Economies [Moscow TV]	48
Republics' Budget Formation Principles Outlined [TASS]	51
Lithuanian Leader on 'Normal Life' in Republic [TASS]	52

Latvia's Vagris Comments on Republic Issues [SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 14 Mar]	52
Latvian 'Repressed' Gather in Valmiera [Riga International]	59
Estonian History Group on Molotov-Ribbentrop [RAHVA HAAL 12 Mar]	60
Ukrainian Mass Graves From Thirties Confirmed [TASS]	61
Housing Shortage Continues in Ukraine [PRAVDA UKRAINY 12 Mar]	61
Ukrainian Health Ministry Opens Press Center [RADYANSKA UKRAINA 19 Mar]	62
War Memorial Book Planned for Ukraine [PRAVDA UKRAINY 10 Mar]	62
Moldavia's Grossu Appeals for Calm in Republic [SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA 25 Feb]	63
Georgian Theological Academy Opens in Tbilisi [Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE 7 Mar]	65
Armenian MVD Data on 6-12 Mar Crimes Cited [Yerevan KOMMUNIST 14 Mar]	66
Armenian Charity Fund Holds Conference [Yerevan KOMMUNIST 8 Mar]	67
Tajik KGB Officially Warns Islamic Activist [KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 10 Mar]	67
Tajik Leaders Discuss Dushanbe Language Rally [KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 4 Mar]	68
Language Rally Leaders Scored [KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 11 Mar]	70
Kazakh 11 March Plenum Proceedings Reported [KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA 12 Mar]	72
Kazakh Decree on Commission Chairmen Published [SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN 11 Mar]	73
* Workers at Kazakhstan Steel Foundry Shop Strike [KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA 26 Feb]	73
* Kirghiz Seismologist Predicts Major Earthquake [SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 18 Mar]	75
'Informals' at Khabarovsk Rally Criticized [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Mar]	76
More Attention to Developing Ethnography Urged [PRAVDA 14 Mar]	77
* Cab Drivers Demand Assault, Robbery Crackdown [TRUD 21 Mar]	78
AP Story on Resumed Radio Jamming Denied [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 23 Mar]	78
Religious Persecution Alleged; Official Comments [IZVESTIYA 9 March]	79
New Newspaper Published by Gorkiy Journalists [Moscow Radio]	79

Scientific

'Cosmos-2007' Satellite Launched 23 Mar [TASS]	79
Experiments Continue on 'Mir' Space Station [TASS]	80

Military

Gromov Interviewed on Afghanistan, New Posting [IZVESTIYA 22 Mar]	80
Snetkov Interviewed on Armed Forces Cuts [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Mar]	81
Kiev Military District Anniversary Commemorated	83
Shcherbitskiy Attends Ceremony [PRAVDA UKRAINY 12 Mar]	83
Soldiers Congratulated [PRAVDA UKRAINY 11 Mar]	84
Arkhipov Discusses Military Cutbacks, Conversion [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 23 Mar]	84
Civilian Gives Views on Army Restructuring [IZVESTIYA 21 Mar]	85
Estonian Army Veterans Set Up New Organization [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Mar]	89
Army Wife Describes Hardships of Military Life [KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 11 Mar]	90

SDI 'Enthusiasts' Try To Influence White House
PM2103145389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Star Wars Milestones"]

[Text] Washington, 19 Mar—By accident or cunning design, Washington's "Star Wars" program is preparing to reach a milestone without the usual ballyhoo. There has been no fanfare. However, last week the SDI technology developed by the Pentagon and its contractors began in effect to leave the laboratory for test ranges in the air and on the ground.

The practical experiment stage starts with the planned launch of a satellite to gather the information needed to create missile interceptor guidance systems. "Delta Star"—that is the name of this experiment costing \$130 million—will remain in orbit for 6 months. Over this time the satellite will monitor the launches of six missiles from Alaska and Hawaii and, if possible, Soviet launches. Presumably data on how to distinguish real warheads from dummies will be obtained as a result. Speaking at the hearings in the House Armed Services Committee, Lieutenant General G. Monahan, current director of the SDI organization, stated that the "Delta Star" research is aimed at overcoming "one of the fundamental uncertainties" remaining in the development of a space-based ABM defense system.

But this is only the first step, so to speak. Tests of existing "Star Wars" technology costing almost \$1 billion are planned in the following 9 months. In particular, the antiballistic missile designed to destroy warheads as they enter the atmosphere is to undergo its first full test in the second half of June. Judging by statements made here, many of the experiments under preparation directly call in question U.S. observance of the 1972 ABM Treaty concluded with the USSR.

In general, the creators of SDI will have a great deal of work this year, and by no means just paperwork. Things are clearly reaching a point where we can talk about a decisive acceleration of the program for the militarization of space. Why now precisely?

Despite President Bush's desire to refute the widespread opinion that his administration has still not embarked on serious work, that is indeed the case. The extremely slow pace at which key posts in federal departments are being filled is inevitably hampering the process of formulating the new White House incumbent's own political positions. Of course, this is a temporary phenomenon. But at present there is still a certain vagueness about the administration's future policy, notably in the sphere of the "Strategic Defense Initiative."

"Star Wars" in America has a broad military and ideological base, and the downright feverish activity that SDI enthusiasts have embarked on prompts the thought that this is a question of attempts to influence the administration and force it to heedlessly subscribe to the militarization of space. The following fact is worthy of note: The existence of a Pentagon internal memorandum written by Lieutenant General Abrahamson before his retirement from the post of director of the SDI organization recently became known. Despite all kinds of calculations, the general claimed that the first phase of ABM space defenses can be deployed within the next 5 years at a cost of \$25 billion instead of the previously cited sum of \$69 billion.

There is also another piece of "bait" that any Washington administration swallows with enviable regularity. That is pressure on the Soviet Union, with which they are still trying to speak from a position of strength. This regrettable element was mentioned by Abrahamson unequivocally in the following words: "The numerous widely publicized SDI tests that will be carried out in the next 2 years in conjunction with concrete realistic plans for deployment give the new administration a vastly increased lever for pressure" at the arms control talks with the USSR.

In other words, wherever you look, the cliches of the old political thinking, which narrows horizons to concern for selfish interests and to preservation of the confrontational spirit in relations between the two great powers, are current everywhere—as if there were no tasks of tremendous importance to all mankind, above all, the liberation of mankind from the threat of oblivion.

*** CEMA Need To Develop Integration Discussed**
18250127 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by A. Krushinskiy: "Should We Abolish the 'Cards'?"]

[Text] At the scientific-practical conference in honor of the 40th anniversary of CEMA held in Moscow, it was only in the introductory speech that there were a couple of festive sentences in keeping with the occasion. After that there was a businesslike and pointed discussion. And the most remarkable thing is that at the center of attention at the conference and the roundtable discussion that followed was that which is lacking, about which they have begun to speak quite recently—a combined market of the socialist countries.

...For Otherwise It Is No Longer Possible

This phrase was introduced into our lexicon at the 44th meeting of the CEMA session in the summer of last year: In the Collective Concept of International Socialist Division of Labor During 1991-2005 that was adopted there, in particular, it is noted that with the restructuring of the economic mechanism for multilateral cooperation, conditions will gradually be created for free exchange of goods and services among the majority of CEMA countries, right up to the point of their creation of a combined socialist market in the future. Only a couple of months have passed and economists can no longer conceive of the future of our cooperation without such a market.

Why? It would seem that even in keeping with existing methods the commodity exchange of CEMA countries has increased from year to year, having reached impressive volumes by now. But what does not suit the scholars? The fact is that the commodity exchange is conducted centrally, as if according to the principles of the "card system"—that is, in approximately the same way as the Gosnab distributes supplies here in our country. Hence, there is essentially a lack of incentive to improve the quality of items that are exchanged. As Prof V. Shastitko (USSR) expressed it during the course of the discussion: Within the framework of our cooperation the Soviet Union guarantees its partners raw materials while all the rest guarantee each other the sale of industrial items that cannot compete on the market. This cannot go on.

During the course of the conference there were repeated references to the European Economic Community which, relying on the development of market relations, has significantly outpaced the CEMA in terms of the depth of economic integration. By December of 1992 within the EEC it is planned to abolish border posts, to eliminate passport control, and to create a unified internal market that encompasses 12 countries with a population of 320 million, equal in size to the U.S. market. This promises to put the EEC in the position of the leading economic power in the modern world.

But what about the CEMA countries? Commodity and monetary relations are not developed and the proportion of network cooperation is insignificant. It is no secret that we play the role of outsiders in the world market—exporters of raw material and importers of machines.

The purpose of the creation of a combined market, judging from the statements of the participants in the conference, is both to accelerate scientific and technical progress and increase the effectiveness of production and well as to increase the ability of the products to compete.

"The market of our day is not simply a place where buyers and sellers meet and it is not simply the accomplishment of the act of commodity-money exchange," said Hungarian economist (Ya. Kozma) at the conference. "It is a complex system of relations and mutual influences that serve production and commodity and monetary circulation, a system that is served by a complicated and developed infrastructure (information science, commodity and monetary exchanges, marketing, and so forth). Through this system passes an immense quality of products of mental labor, material goods, and various services which exert a reverse influence on the quantitative and qualitative sides of production, sales, and consumption."

The scholars are categorical: It is no longer possible to develop without changing over to developed commodity and monetary relations. Otherwise, (Ya. Kozma) noted, the backwardness will become irreversible. In the words of Prof M. Maksimova, this is a matter of the fate of our cooperation, the fate of our community.

What Should We Trade?

There are many problems on the path to creating a market. For the "card system" both here in the USSR and in other socialist countries, as well as in the sphere of cooperation, is usually based on a deficit. During the course of the discussion this desire, in particular, was expressed: As an intermediate task on the path to a combined market, it is necessary to develop in the CEMA countries a set of stabilizing programs directed toward overcoming the deficit—mainly in consumer goods. For example, we should arrange production of a generally attainable automobile, household electronic equipment, and so forth. In a number of speeches, however, doubt was expressed concerning the possibility of making real strides under the conditions of the "cards": In order to have a market it is necessary to eliminate the disproportions.

Incidentally, the "card system" in and of itself, as the experience of the USSR and other socialist countries shows, is sometimes a factor in extravagances since it motivates managers to accumulate above-normative supplies and freeze resources. We know of cases in which even a half-hearted changeover of certain branches to wholesale trade (instead of centralized distribution of funds) has led to a reduction of the deficit.

The reflections of Prof. M. Ostrovsky, director of the Institute of the National Economy under the Central Planning Administration of Poland, which analyze the problems of market relations that have now developed within the framework of direct ties, are curious in this respect. The low level of intrabranched cooperation and the incorrect ratio between prices and outlays in the national economies of the CEMA countries—he noted—can have a negative impact on the volume and value of centralized exchange in the initial phase of direct ties. But after a period of mutual adaptation one can expect that we shall successfully overcome these tendencies. Even the current, preliminary stage of cooperation of enterprises shows that on this path it is possible to enrich domestic markets and utilize surpluses of goods that appear in spite of the general deficit.

Riddles like "Which appeared first, the chicken or the egg?" were revealed repeatedly during the course of the discussions. For example, in the speech of Prof. D. Shimon (Hungary) one heard this formulation: "The creation of a combined market can and should be a logical continuation of the construction of market economics of the socialist type at the national level." Does this mean that we must wait until each country changes over from the distribution of funds to wholesale trade, and only after this begin to build a combined market?

Attention should be paid to the course of the discussions of W. Kunz, chairman of the GDR Scientific Council for Questions of Socialist Economic Integration, who called for making a clear distinction between that which is a possible prospect and that which is necessary and can be done even now and in the near future. Among the material prerequisites that should be created within the framework of individual countries W. Kunz includes satisfactory coverage of domestic needs for means of production and consumer goods and a coming together of the social policies of the partner countries. The scholar includes among the important prerequisites the development of direct ties, the creation of conditions for consistent enlistment of economic units in the international coordination of plans, encouragement of their initiative for international division of labor, consistent direction of their export activity toward the needs of the CEMA countries, and so forth.

And so, figuratively speaking, "both the chicken and the egg" should develop in parallel.

A Step Forward, A Step to the Side

"Is the process of forming a combined market now taking place?" This rhetorical question was raised in the speech by V. Budkin, representative of the Institute of Social and Economic Problems of Foreign Countries of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences. Yes, he thinks it is taking place, and he substantiated his viewpoint with

cases of the development of the ties themselves: Ukrainian enterprises, organizations, and institutions have already signed more than 200 of the corresponding agreements.

Recently experiments have been conducted on an unprecedented scale, "islands" of new management are appearing, and the first signs of the future combined market are being generated. At the conference they mentioned such things as the wholesale trade fair of the CEMA countries held in Moscow, the planned currency auctions, and a number of agreements between individual CEMA countries concerning partial convertibility of national currencies. To this one might add the first Hungarian-Soviet house of trade, Azimut, which was instituted recently in Budapest by the Hungarian Credit Bank, the USSR Gosstnab, and its foreign trade association Vneshpromtekhnobmen in order to help enterprises of the two countries to realize the millions of transfer rubles that have accumulated in their accounts.

And so a step or two forward. And suddenly...a step to the side. This is how a number of scholars evaluated the measures that have been taken in certain countries to strengthen the rules for importing consumer goods. This is a real customs war, as Prof. Maksimov stated in his speech—a war begun in secret, without preliminarily warning one another. Would it not be better to discuss this problem beforehand and coordinate the customs rates?

Many people discussed the lack of coordination of the actions of the CEMA countries in solving important economic problems, particularly in the sphere of currency and financial problems and the principles of price setting.

Supporting One Another...

Naturally, in order to overcome the difficult barriers facing the CEMA countries it is necessary to have resolve and political will. When one compares the depth and coordination of integration processes in our cooperation with those in Western Europe, as a rule the comparison does not come out in favor of CEMA. In particular, many people are concerned about the separateness manifested by individual countries when conducting the reform of foreign economic ties.

Incidentally, the modern capitalist market is not at all the same as the market of the times of "free competition," the economists warn, and it is characterized by a high degree of organization. Well, what about our community? So far many enterprises and firms are operating in isolation and, naturally, without much success.

I recall that more than a half year has passed since people began to speak about a combined market in the socialist countries. But, judging from everything, many economists were not caught unawares by this idea. Thus representatives of the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System brought up for discussion a number of interesting ideas relative

to the creation of a mechanism for mutually advantageous combination of forces with active utilization of commodity-monetary relations. For example, distribute the state order on a competitive basis with competition of associations and firms of various socialist countries. Or: Utilize the experience of capitalist transnational corporations in order to create powerful socialist integrated associations which would be able to overcome interdepartmental barriers of the ministry, utilize scientific and technical progress effectively, and successfully fight for a "place in the sun" in the world market.

...There are many glorious pages in the 40-year history of CEMA. Our cooperation is an impressive factor in the modern world. The nine countries included in it produce approximately one-third of the world's industrial output. A radical restructuring of the mechanism for multilateral cooperation on the basis of socialist market relations will undoubtedly be to the advantage of each fraternal country and the community as a whole and will contribute to improvement of the lives of the people and the growth of the prestige of world socialism.

Perfilyev Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 23 Mar

Announces Gorbachev To Visit Cuba, UK
*LD2303151489 Moscow TASS in English 1502 GMT
23 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, will make an official friendly visit to Cuba, at the invitation of Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, on April 2-5, 1989. This was announced by Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, here on Thursday.

Noting that the visit, originally planned for December last year had been put off in connection with the earthquake in Armenia, Perfilyev expressed confidence that the coming visit would become an important landmark in the further consolidation of friendly relations and development of cooperation between the two countries in various areas.

It will be Gorbachev's first visit to Cuba, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. The programme of the visit envisages negotiations on matters of mutual interest, familiarisation with life in a fraternal country, sight-seeing in the capital and meeting with Cuban working people.

The Soviet leader will make an official visit to Great Britain from April 5 to April 7, Perfilyev said. He emphasised that relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain have further developed since the time the visit was first planned. "The great moral and material support given us by the British people during the trying days of the Armenian tragedy will not be forgotten in the USSR. We hope that confidence and solidarity accumulated in our relations of late will influence the coming summit talks and will be manifested in concrete arrangements", he said.

The visit to Great Britain will take place in a new atmosphere formed as a result of the signing of the final document of the Vienna meeting of CSCE, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

"The contemporary history of Soviet-Britain relations shows that the meetings of the leaders of our two countries invariably give a strong impetus to the development of the entire complex of bilateral relations and upgrade them", he said.

Updates Afghanistan Situation

*LD2303212689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1830 GMT 23 Mar 89*

[Text] A briefing on current questions of international politics took place today in the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry. Comrade Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, spoke at the briefing. Dealing with the situation around Afghanistan, he said in particular:

[Begin Perfilyev recording] Having already lost more than 4,000 men outside of Jalalabad, the Afghan armed opposition nevertheless is not relinquishing hopes of seizing the town and airport. The rebels are constantly trying to attack the airport and bombard it with heavy guns. In only the last 48 hours, more than 2000 shells and mortars have been fired on the town and the airport. The rebel forces are concentrated to the north, southeast, and south. Simultaneously, reserves from Lowgar and Paktia Provinces and also from Pakistan are being brought up. From there, ammunition is being transferred in a continuous stream to the Jalalabad area. Subunits of the 11th and 18th Infantry Divisions of the Pakistan Army are participating in the transportation of weapons and ammunition into Afghanistan.

Recently, the bodies of rebels who died in fighting outside Jalalabad were delivered to the Barak refugee camp in the (Kuchene Kebabiha) District of Peshawar. This event aroused the strong indignation of the camp inhabitants, who organized a protest meeting against the actions of the leaders of the Alliance of Seven, which led to the death of their relatives. At the meeting, the actions of the leaders of the rebels were called anti-Islamic and people yelled slogans in support of the Islamic government of Najibullah. Continuing to carry out offensive operations in the region of Jalalabad, the armed opposition is not relinquishing its plans to make a strike against government forces in other regions of the country. Twenty-nine km northeast of Kabul, the arrival of a large detachment of the opposition with heavy weapons and rocket launchers has been noted. The appearance of other similar formations has been noted to the northwest and southeast of Kabul. The government is taking measures to defend these regions, and first and foremost, Kabul. [end recording]

Hungary's Grosz To Visit

*LD2303203389 Budapest MTI in English 1850 GMT
23 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, March 23 (MTI)—The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the working visit of Karoly Grosz and his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet Foreign Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev stated at an international press conference in Moscow on Thursday. He said that the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary would see foreign journalists at the Foreign Ministry's press centre on Friday.

With regard to the Wednesday press briefing by Sandor Rajnai, Hungarian ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr Perilyev confirmed that the Moscow discussions would cover issues of socialist development and bilateral cooperation. The spokesman expressed agreement with the ambassador stating that the meeting of party general secretaries will give new impetus to the development of fraternal, many-sided relations between the two parties and countries.

Indian Ocean Seminar To Be Held

LD2303142289 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT
23 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 23 TASS—An international seminar on the creation of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean will be held in the city of Sochi, the Krasnodar region, on March 28-30, Vadim Perilyev, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a meeting here on Thursday.

He added that the seminar would be held on the Soviet Union's initiative and would be financed by its voluntary donation to the fund of the U.N. world disarmament campaign. The U.N. Secretariat and the Soviet U.N. Association are the organisers of the Sochi forum.

According to Perilyev, representatives of all 49 member countries of the U.N. special committee for the Indian Ocean, as well as of a number of non-governmental organisations and academic institutes of the Indian Ocean region, the United States and the USSR were invited to attend the seminar.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed hope that the seminar would become another step on the way to the realisation of the resolution adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on convening a U.N. conference on the Indian Ocean in 1990.

UN Human Rights Delegate Reviews Progress

AU1703211689 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian
No 11, 15 Mar 89 p 10

[Article by Vladimir Simonov, NOVOSTI political observer: "Special for ANTENI: Communists, Capitalists, and Human Beings"]

[Text] A crowd is gathering in front of the Palace of Nations in Geneva during the middle of the day. The delegates to the 45th session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, who are going out for lunch, stop to read the slogans written on black banners. They listen to the words coming from loudspeakers. Albanians living in Geneva wish to inform the world public about their opinions on the ethnic conflict in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo. This is no surprise to the delegates. Just before the lunch break, at the morning session, the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs raised the question of the violation of human rights in Romania. For many years the East European countries have

not shown their dirty laundry to the world. Recently, however, they are increasingly beginning to express their concern about such issues at world forums, and especially at the UN Human Rights Commission.

How do we evaluate this new phenomenon in international affairs?

Elena Lukashova, member of the Soviet delegation in Geneva and a distinguished scholar from the State and Law Institute, told me the following regarding this: My attitude is ambivalent in this respect. On the one hand, of course, I would like relations between the socialist countries to proceed without any cause for such complaints, but on the other hand, I do not see anything exceptional in them. The socialist countries should get used to such situations. Why should they have no disagreements, including ones about crucial problems such as the national [word as published] issue?

Appeals submitted by East European countries at international forums show insufficient perfection of the legal mechanisms related to human rights within the socialist community, Dr Lukashova thinks. Unfortunately, there is no convention on human rights signed among them. Why should we not organize a special meeting on human rights problems? My interviewee presumes that such a meeting would be likely to facilitate the settlement of emerging controversies in this sphere.

Conflicts in the human rights sector also exist among the Western countries. The 45th session of the UN Human Rights Commission showed numerous examples of this. Both systems are meeting similar difficulties.

Elena Lukashova expressed the following opinion: "If the new political thinking requires a de-ideologization of international relations, then the human rights sphere should also be somehow separated from ideology." On the basis of current events, we can say that the world public is proceeding in this direction. This is how the new approaches in solving international problems, which were discussed by Mikhail Gorbachev during his UN speech, reflected upon the work of the 45th session held by the Human Rights Commission. The representatives of the Vatican and of Spain here in Geneva, for example, pointed out the universal human values without which any further progress in the humanitarian sphere becomes virtually impossible. The right to live and the right to environmental protection have assumed particular importance today.

How can we coordinate our model of democracy with the international "image?" In the long run, East and West are both interested in this. However, we should admit that the rates of improving democratization vary from one country to another. The socialist countries declared: "The social protection of man in our countries has reached an unprecedented level!" However, the time for a sober reevaluation has come, my interviewee said. Nevertheless, not everything always depends upon the

goodwill of one government or another. Human rights frequently are determined by the stage of development which a state has reached. Nevertheless, certain spheres exist in which democracy should be improved without delay. According to Elena Lukashova, in the case of the Soviet Union, improvement is required in the sphere of political and personal human rights, while in certain other socialist countries, it is necessary to overcome the political inertia and indifference to civil rights problems that have accumulated during the period of stagnation.

An intensification of the masses' activities is being observed today. These activities sometimes assume a somewhat distorted form, but according to Elena Lukashova, this is inevitable along the path toward a standard of behavior truly based on law [pravova cultura]. As far as Soviet citizens are concerned, they had no opportunity to acquire a high standard of political culture, because, to put it mildly, the periods of the personality cult and of stagnation did not provide the necessary conditions for this. It would be correct to expand their political rights today. Every citizen should have the opportunity to know what happens in his country, my interviewee continued. He should be entitled to have access to his personal file in state institutions and organizations. Such a law exists in Western countries. There should be informational feedback about man's actions and their evaluation by the state. Today the state knows what you are doing, but you do not know what the state organs are thinking about you. The sooner this discrepancy in information is eliminated, the better it is.

It is high time to develop an uniform concept of human rights. It should not depend on the countries' social systems. Man has rights, not because he is a capitalist or a communist, but because he is a human being. The world will judge a system according to the manner in which it guarantees these irrevocable rights.

Official Comments on New Customs Regulations
LD2303161189 Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT
23 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—The stage-by-stage introduction of new customs regulations in the USSR which are similar in many respects to those in force in other parts of the world is aimed, in the first place, at creating more favourable conditions for the Soviet Union's foreign economic activities, Vladimir Bazovskiy, head of the main customs control department has told TASS.

He pointed out that in new conditions of decentralisation of Soviet foreign economic relations the customs service cannot confine its functions to exercising control over the luggage of Soviet and foreign citizens. It should also become a mechanism regulating foreign trade. This can be achieved only through the creation of a customs and tariff system that would include an effective customs tariff, state non-tariff regulations and state customs statistics. These three elements should be based on a

classification of goods understandable to the Soviet Union's foreign trade partners. This is why measures are now being worked out aimed at introducing a balanced coding system of goods accepted in most countries.

According to Bazovskiy, the order of the declaration of goods and other property moved across the Soviet border that was published in Soviet central newspapers on Thursday will be put into effect on April 1, this year. This can be regarded as the first step on the way to creating an effective customs and tariff mechanism in this country. This form of declaration was accepted on the basis of existing world practices. Bazovskiy pointed out that the formation of a new Soviet customs and tariff system creates good conditions for bringing the Soviet Union and member-countries of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) closer together.

He also said that it had been decided to liberalise the customs control procedure for Soviet and foreign citizens. As the first step, a two-channel customs control system with a green and a red corridor is being created at Moscow's Sheremetyevo International Airport. Under this system the contact between passengers and customs officers will be based on complete trust. "However, the democratisation of the customs procedure should in no way undermine the interests of the state. Soviet customs officers have enough professional skill to protect them", Bazovskiy said in conclusion.

*** Scholar Stresses Cooperation Against Hijackers**
18000674 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian
19 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by V. Bordunov, senior scientific associate of the Institute of State and Law, candidate of jurisprudence: "How Not to Become a Hostage"]

[Text] Yesterday the newspaper published an announcement of the suit against five terrorists from Ordzhonikidze who tried to hijack an aircraft abroad.

Today we are turning the floor over to a legal expert in order to find out to what extent existing international law protects us from such terrorist acts.

One does not need a rich imagination to envision the condition of an air passenger who has been captured by terrorists. The list of human lives disposed of according to the will of hijackers is significant. From 1969 through 1988 there were 2,330 victims. During this same period 2,066 were maimed.

Last year in the country's airports more than 250 barrels of firearms were confiscated, 86,177 units of cold arms [as published], 411 kilograms of explosives, and a large number of prohibited items. One can only guess how many lives were saved.

After each case of hijacking or seizure of an aircraft there is an accelerated patching up of holes in the system of protective measures for aviation safety. When the Ovechkin brothers sneaked weapons past security in a violin case—the security service patched up the holes and solemnly promised: This will never be repeated—as though such a probability could not have been anticipated. The Pan Am Boeing 747 exploded in the sky above Scotland from a plastic bomb concealed in a tape recorder—there followed a ban on the shipment of videotape recorders, radios, tape recorders, and computers by American airline companies....

It is time to move on from the policy of patching up holes; we have had enough of living according to the proverb: "Since it is not raining, why fix the roof?"

At its last special meeting in February of this year the council of the International Civil Aviation Organization [ICAO] adopted a plan of action that envisions in particular a revision of the recommendations of the ICAO for insuring safety in airports and developing new standards for inspecting passengers, baggage, and cargo.

In our country in the near future it is planned to adopt a similar state program. An important role in this should be played by international documents—the 1963 Tokyo convention on crimes and certain other acts committed on board an aircraft, the 1970 Hague convention on fighting against illegal seizure of aircraft, the 1971 Montreal convention on fighting against illegal acts directed against the safety of civil aviation, and the 1988 protocol on fighting against illegal acts of violence in airports serving international civil aviation which augments this convention. In these documents air terrorists are declared—and justly—to be the worst enemies of mankind, criminals who will be met with severe punitive measures wherever they may turn up. According to these conventions, the countries must either turn over the air terrorists or punish them themselves. Thus, the inevitability of retribution is guaranteed.

The aforementioned conventions played a major role in the outcome of the situation in Ordzhonikidze in which terrorists took children and a teacher hostage and demanded an aircraft to fly abroad. They ended up in the hands of Soviet law enforcement officials. Although as a rule criminals are turned over as a voluntary act of the state, Israel satisfied the request of the Soviet Union and set an example worthy of imitation.

With all the importance of the conventions on fighting against aircraft hijackings, they have one serious shortcoming: They go into effect, alas, "post facto"—only after the commission of the act of air terrorism—but they are not preventive. And this is the result: Air terrorism is not disappearing but is becoming more and more barbaric. While previously aircraft were hijacked, now they are blown up.

The situation will not change as long as states continue to proceed from the principle of "advantageous-disadvantageous" or "I want to or I do not want to" observe the international recommendations of the ICAO for fighting against air terrorism. In order to eliminate the existing uncertainty in the commitments, it is time to reinforce the legal basis for cooperation.

Therefore the proposal of the Soviet delegation at the recent meeting of the ICAO council concerning reinforcement of the principle of providing for safety of international civil aviation in the 1944 Chicago convention, the main document of international air law, seemed very timely. What will this step do for the fight against air terrorism? Its result could be the establishment of clear-cut commitments of states concerning provisions for air safety, which generally do not exist at the present time. Practice shows that in many cases the state alone cannot cope with air pirates and is in need of emergency aid and assistance. When the Pan Am aircraft exploded a number of countries, including the Soviet Union, offered the United States and England assistance in investigating this incident.

Let us have such practice of human relations become the international norm.

United States & Canada

Baker 'Evidently' To Meet Gorbachev in May
*LD2403005889 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0012 GMT 24 Mar 89*

[Excerpts] Washington 24 Mar (TASS)—Igor Borisenko and Nikolay Turkatenko, TASS correspondents, report: Packed, informative, and useful—that is how journalists saw their meeting with Yuriy Dubinin, the USSR's ambassador to the United States, which took place on Thursday. [passage omitted]

As you know, said the ambassador, the present U.S. Administration has stated that it intends over time to conduct a thorough analysis of its strategy. We understand this. At the same time, the process is by no means standing still. There was a meeting in Vienna recently between E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, and J. Baker, the secretary of state, that was very successful. A visit by Baker to Moscow is planned for May. There will be an exchange of opinions then on very important matters. Moreover, Baker will have a meeting then not only with Shevardnadze, but evidently also with M.S. Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

U.S. Expels Soviet Trade Official, Family
*LD2303212189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2038 GMT 23 Mar 89*

[Text] Washington, 23 Mar (TASS)—Charles Redman, the U.S. State Department spokesman, today reported the decision of U.S. authorities to expel Sergey Malinin, a staff member of the Soviet-U.S. Amtorg trade organization in New York, and his family. They have been instructed to leave the United States by the end of the month.

Redman did not conceal that this action has not been dictated by any reasons other than a decision of the U.S. side to retaliate against the recent expulsion from the USSR of Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Van Gundy, aide to the U.S. military attache in Moscow, which was described by the State Department Spokesman as "unfounded." "We expect that this will put an end to this business," he added. "Mr Malinin has not been declared persona non grata, but his family has been told to leave by the end of the month. Any further unjustified expulsions by the USSR of U.S. personnel will require us to take additional measures."

Lieutenant Colonel Van Gundy was recently expelled from the USSR for activity incompatible with his diplomatic status. The USSR Foreign Ministry stated, among other things, that he attempted to penetrate a closed rayon, and committed other gross violations incompatible with his position as a diplomatic representative.

On 9 March the State Department declared Yuriy Pakhtusov, a Soviet military diplomat, persona non grata. He was detained by the FBI for allegedly "receiving secret

documents." The USSR Embassy has made a resolute protest to the State Department with respect to the detention and expulsion of the Soviet military diplomat, having described the actions of the U.S. authorities as an "unprovoked provocation."

Charges From U.S. Newsmen in USSR 'Nonsense'
*LD2303194589 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT
23 Mar 89*

[Yuriy Kornilov commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

Surprising things have been happening to THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondents in the Soviet Union for some time.

No sooner Bill Keller of THE NEW YORK TIMES attempted to have a talk with a Soviet citizen in a street of Kishinev than "somebody in grey" materialised. And hardly the conversation ended when that "somebody" got into a car with state markings and drove away. Isn't it clear that he was a secret agent who wanted to learn in advance about the contents of the interview to save the price of a THE NEW YORK TIMES copy?

THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent Felicity Barranger, on returning to her suite in a Tbilisi hotel, suddenly discovered that some cryptic phrases had been fed into the memory of her portable computer. She pressed a button and read the following message: "Irene does very well in school. She studies English." The correspondent pressed another button and read: "Play ball." Isn't this obvious that this is a secret code and that the mysterious Irene is none other than a secret agent. The advice to play ball surely means the coded suggestion to supply to beautiful Irene a secret plan for the seizure of the capital...

And an absolutely strange thing happened in the Soviet Union to Phil Taubman. This representative of the free American press complained more than once that he was being followed by "secret Soviet agents" and was ridiculed by a Soviet newspaper for that. But this is no laughing matter to Mr. Taubman, as agents, don't you see, keep on with their assignment. On coming into his suite in a hotel in Semipalatinsk Taubman saw that a writing pad he keeps in a case was atop a TV set. What does this mean? Do Russians supply foreign journalists with moving writing pads, which, upon being filled, part from their owners and start moving of their own accord toward the nearest KGB office?...

What kind of nonsense is this? The reader might say. This is nonsense indeed. But the point is that these topics were drawn not from the writings of the gutter press on the theme of "reds under the bed," but from the speech that David Shipler, former correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES in Moscow, and presently senior

researcher of the Carnegie foundation, delivered in Washington to members of the U.S. Senate's commission on questions of security and cooperation. Mr. Shipler tried to impress it on his listeners that despite all the changes taking place in the USSR, the KGB and other Soviet authorities continue the surveillance of Western journalists, try to stage provocations and interfere in correspondents' work.

Mr. Shipler's fantasies could, naturally, be ignored, if it were not for the fact that he came out with them now that an international forum of the media is about to be held in London in accordance with the recommendations of the Vienna meeting. Some people in the U.S.A. would like very much to use that forum not for the development of East-West cooperation and confidence-building, but for opposite goals. So they try to revive "the enemy image" and invent, the way Mr. Shipler does, absurd and not at all harmless fables about mythical "secret agents" who allegedly interfere with foreign journalists in the USSR performing their duties...

U.S. Sovietologist Urges Caution in Soviet Ties
PM1503161989

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 11 March in its Morning Edition carries on page 6, under the headline "Heeding Past Mistakes in Order To Avoid Them in the Future," a 2,200-word article by Adam Ulam, director of the Harvard Russian Studies Center. The Ulam article reviews U.S.-Soviet relations along cautiously optimistic lines and argues that recent successes must not lead to complacency, and that while no one believes that all key questions can be resolved at once, positions are drawing closer and may serve as an example for dealing with problems in other parts of the world. The article is prefaced by a 400-word introduction by A. Shalnev, who says that although Ulam is known in the Soviet Union for his anti-Soviet, anticommunist views, he is above all a scientist, and his carefully researched viewpoints are respected in the United States, while his deliberations on Soviet-U.S. relations are "interesting," even if one cannot go along with everything he says.

China

Sino-Soviet Unity in Cause of Peace Urged
*OW2303021189 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0300 GMT 12 Mar 89*

[Ivanov commentary]

[Text] On 12 March 1951, in response to an appeal by the Second World Peace Conference to the parliaments of all countries for the adoption of laws on the defense of peace, the USSR Supreme Soviet passed the Law on the Defense of Peace. Station reporter Ivanov writes in this connection.

When the highest organ of state power in the Soviet Union passed the law on peace, it recognized the conscience and awareness of the people of all countries in abiding by the law, and was intolerant of some countries that formed an aggressive clique to launch frantic propaganda for war with impunity. The people of all countries have experienced the sufferings of two world wars within one generation. The law passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet clearly stipulates that conducting any form of propaganda for war constitutes a serious crime against mankind. People found guilty of conducting propaganda for war should be brought to court for prosecution, and punished as prisoners who have committed heinous crimes.

Article 28 of the Soviet Constitution consolidated this law. It has been a long time since the Soviet Union, China, and other countries passed the laws on defense of peace. That 40 years have elapsed does not create a problem. The important thing is that profound qualitative changes have taken place in the international situation. The methods used in struggling for disarmament and in defending and consolidating peace have also undergone important changes. That propaganda for war is intolerable does not constitute the only aspect of the problem today. The view that nuclear war should not be used as a means to achieve political, economic, ideological, and other purposes is a major and fundamental principle of the new political thinking.

The new thinking is deeply rooted in international relations, and is exerting a more positive impact on international affairs. Cooperation among socialist countries plays an important role in the world development of the new political process. In this sense, mutual cooperation between the Soviet Union and China, the two socialist nuclear powers, is of great significance.

In his speech in Vladivostok in 1986, Gorbachev said that history has placed great responsibilities and missions on the Soviet and Chinese peoples. Many problems in international development depend on the two socialist powers for resolution. No wonder the people of all countries have placed their hopes on Gorbachev's visit to China, which should complete the process of completely normalizing Sino-Soviet relations and guide them on a new path.

The international community has highly praised the Soviet Union and China for their contributions to promoting a wholesome political atmosphere and halting the arms race throughout the world. The promise of the Soviet Union and China not to be the first to use nuclear weapons has certainly played an affirmative role. Signatories of the Rarotonga Treaty have declared the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone. The treaty received a powerful boost after the Soviet Union and China signed three related protocols.

The Soviet Union and China support other efforts to establish peace and nuclear-free zones in different parts of the world. The two countries share identical views on the question of preventing space militarization and on other major international issues.

USSR, PRC Can 'Enrich' Each Other on Reform
*OW2403051789 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Nikolayev "Special Column" from the "World Today" program: "The Bridge that Leads to the Future"]

[Text] The reading public will frequently come across articles about the Soviet Union in China's periodicals for the month of March. Most of these articles show a deep interest in the reform being carried out in the Soviet Union. They try to analyze and understand the essential substance of reform being carried out in the economic and political spheres of Soviet social life. It should be pointed out that this kind of interest is not one-sided. Reform in China has also attracted the attention of increasing numbers of Soviet political and social activists, as well as those Soviets who are interested in the life of neighboring and socialist countries. I think this is a characteristic to be seen in the continuing development of Sino-Soviet relations.

During his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in Beijing not long ago, Li Peng, premier of China's State Council, said: China and the Soviet Union can enrich the experiences of each other in reform, and supplement each other in the economic sphere.

Indeed, in spite of the fact that the Soviet Union has different given conditions from those enjoyed by China, and that every country has its own characteristics and determines the road to its own development, the two countries have an objective in common, namely, building socialism. Both China and the Soviet Union are carrying out reform. The means used in socialist reform are new and have not been completely explored and defined. Therefore, along this road, not only will there be achievements, but also mistakes and failures. It is understandable that both sides are striving to have a better understanding of the experiences acquired by the neighboring country and analyze and take into consideration things either positive or negative.

It seems that these issues will be major topics for the Sino-Soviet summit in mid-May this year, because the principal objective and task of this meeting is to establish direct ties for increasing the socialist creative potentials through reform and modernization.

Chinese Labor To Be Used in 18 Soviet Projects
*OW2403020189 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 23 Mar 89*

[Text] According to a report by a TASS correspondent from Beijing, the Soviet Union and China have signed an agreement for the Soviet Union to make use of Chinese

labor in the construction of 18 joint projects. The two countries will undertake such projects in the fields of agriculture, industry, fishery, and construction.

This year China has signed more than 1,700 contracts with 106 countries—contracts totalling 2 billion U.S. dollars—for the export of Chinese labor.

New PRC Rules Promote Use of Tibetan Language
*PM2303095189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3*

[Correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Language Revival"]

[Text] Beijing—Henceforth the Tibetan language is to be used at major conferences and meetings held in the Tibet Autonomous Region. Official documents and place-names will also be given in two languages: Chinese and Tibetan. In all the documents issued by political and legal departments, Tibetan is to be used as the main language. During court proceedings or the performance of religious rites, people will have the right to choose either the Tibetan or Chinese language.

These conditions are part of regulations on the teaching, application, and development of the Tibetan language that have just been promulgated by the Government of the Tibet Autonomous Region. According to these regulations, command of the Tibetan language is one of the main preconditions of professional advancement in Tibetan government institutions. The regulations also refer to the need to accelerate the teaching of the Tibetan language in rural areas in order to eradicate illiteracy. Urgent steps are being taken to eliminate the shortage of local teaching cadres and materials. By 1997 most of the subjects at higher secondary and technical schools are to be taught in Tibetan. At the same time, importance is stressed on teaching Chinese on the basis of the Beijing dialect as the language of nationwide communication.

Wartime Soviet Advisers to China Publish Memoirs
*OW2303134989 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] A military memoir, entitled "In China," has been published by the Science Publication Company. The book, published by the thousands, includes memories of Soviet military experts who helped China in the early stage of its War of Resistance Against Japan.

The authors of this book are (Yulikanov), chief adviser of the Soviet military corps, (Tuyikov), and other Soviet military personnel who worked in China.

Memoirs on Soviet military advisers' activities during China's war against Japan always receive warm welcome from readers. Books of this kind awaken people's memories of an important period of Soviet-Chinese cooperation.

Northeast Asia

Rogachev, Japan's Kuriyama View Talks

LD2403132189 Moscow TASS in English 1201 GMT
24 Mar 89

[Text] Tokyo March 24 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno discussed the progress of a working group on a peace treaty between the two nations at a meeting in Tokyo on Friday.

The results of Soviet-Japanese political consultations were also discussed, as were bilateral relations in the run-up to Uno's visit to the Soviet Union in late April-early May.

The Japanese foreign minister stressed the importance and usefulness of talks in Tokyo which paved the way for the implementation of agreements reached by the Soviet and Japanese foreign ministers in December 1988.

There were certain difficulties but dialogue must continue to bring the sides closer together, he said.

The Soviet side reaffirmed its policy towards comprehensive and good-neighbourly relations with Japan, consistent with the potentialities of the two countries and in the interests of both the Soviet and Japanese people.

The ministers agreed to hold another meeting of the working group on the peace treaty in late April in Moscow.

The ministers' talks were also attended by Soviet Ambassador to Japan Nikolay Solovyev and Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Takakazu Kuriyama.

Rogachev held a press conference for Japanese and foreign correspondents in the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo the same day.

Takeshita Speech on Japan Military Role Viewed

OW2403014789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1000 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] Listeners, Prime Minister Takeshita delivered a speech at the commencement exercises of the National Defense Academy last Sunday, 19 March. Radio Moscow's military commentator Kalinin has the following to say on this subject:

In his speech at the National Defense Academy commencement exercises, Japan's Prime Minister Takeshita stressed that the key to peace and security in the world is now, as in the past, the maintenance of the East-West military power balance. At first glance, such a view appears reasonable. Actually, however, if the military preparations of a power exceed a certain limit, then this

will create instability within the international arena. Such attempts, in fact, will only incite another power to take some action to counter them. Consequently, the arms race will be accelerated, and the threat of war will increase. When we take this into consideration, it becomes clear that we must not underestimate the risks involved in the military power balance.

At the same time, if one views the matter from the standpoint of security, then it is possible to realize that the military level may be more important than the military balance. For instance, as you are aware, under the current military power balance existing in the world, the stockpiles of arms are enough to annihilate mankind many times over. In such a situation, it becomes only natural for the question of reducing this excessive level of military confrontation to be raised. Despite this fact, in his speech at the National Defense Academy Prime Minister Takeshita emphasized only the need to further build up Japan's military power and strengthen the military cooperation between Japan and the United States. Undoubtedly, his statement in this regard also contradicted the part of his speech stressing maintenance of the military power balance.

His remarks are particularly conspicuous when compared with the peace proposals made recently by the Soviet Union and other socialist nations in Asia. As you all know, the Soviet Union has decided to abolish intermediate-range nuclear missiles on the Soviet soil of Asia, without even making an issue of the U.S. nuclear missiles in the ROK and the Philippines. The Soviet Union also has announced its unilateral decision to refrain from increasing the stockpile of nuclear missiles in Asia and the Pacific region.

Furthermore, Soviet military strength will be unilaterally reduced by 500,000 by the end of next year. This will include 200,000 to be reduced from the east Soviet zone. The Soviet Union has carried out the reduction of some troops in the Far East already. China and the DPRK have taken similar actions, and Mongolia is about to do the same. It is evident from this that the socialist nations in Asia are making many contributions toward reducing the chance of military confrontation.

Meanwhile, we must note that no response to these initiatives has been received from the United States, Japan, or their allies so far. In a recent interview with the Soviet newspaper IZVESTIYA, Prime Minister Takeshita said that the most urgent task facing mankind right now is disarmament. We cannot but agree with his position on the matter. But we hope and think it important that words directed at the Soviet people fall in line with words directed at the Japanese people.

* ROK Economy, Relations With USSR Viewed

18070163 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 11, 18-24 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by G. Toloraya: "Trading With the 'Dragon'"]

[Text] The South of Korea... How did a poor former colony, ravaged by war, break through into the vanguard

of "newly industrialized countries?" What is prompting South Korea's business community to seek ways of cooperation with the world of socialism? Finally, what is the potential for our cooperation? G. Toloraya, scientific associate of the Institute for the Economy of the World Socialist System, responds to these and other questions.

The 1988 Olympic Games opened up to the Soviet public a dynamic, original country that for a long time was ignored in our country, or of which only a black picture was painted.

However, we are not very familiar with the tangible achievements of South Korea, a country which is one of the four "East Asian dragons." Having long ago acquired the status of a "newly industrialized country," it has its sights on the ambitious task of joining the "club" of highly developed countries before the end of this century. Past experience shows that these plans are not built on sand: The value of South Korea's gross national product increased 65 times between 1962 and 1988, and per capita production grew from \$87 to \$3,600 in that period.

What Is the Secret of Success?

In the West, the economic success of South Korea is attributed only to the efficient utilization of foreign aid and capital combined with export-oriented production, i.e., profound integration with the world economy. This is partly true, but such a policy would have hardly borne fruit in the absence of a selfless effort by the populace over many years, which is a decisive premise for breaking out of backwardness. The diligence and discipline of the South Korean worker are combined with severe constraints on consumption: On the average, according to the official data, Koreans work 54.3 hours a week (according to the data of the opposition, as many as 73 hours), whereas wages are 9 to 10 times lower than in the United States, and 4 to 5 times lower than in Japan.

We are hardly justified in passing in silence over the organizing power of state monopolistic structures, primarily the national finance and industrial groups, the "chebol," in the course of capitalist modernization. In the mid-1980's, they accounted for two-thirds of production, almost three-quarters of exports. In the world marketplace, the largest South Korean corporations, such as Samsung, Hyundai, Teu, and Lucky-Goldstar, were literally giving many old American, European, and Japanese monopolies "a run for their money." At present, there are 11 South Korean companies on the list of the 500 leading companies of the world; moreover, there are four in the first hundred.

Exports, mainly of finished manufactures, remain the main incentive for the growth of production. Because of this, South Korea ranks 12th on the list of world capitalist trade powers (and, according to projections, will soon be among the top ten). The volume of exports exceeded \$60 billion in 1988.

The "niche" of South Korea in the world flow of trade remains quite well-defined: It produces mainly consumer goods of a medium world standard of quality at very modest prices. However, it is difficult to compare cheap textiles, footwear, wigs, and veneer, which were the mainstay of exports in the 1960's, with what the country has to offer in the world market today: This includes cars, ships, computers, and microelectronic components, and video, television, and sound equipment.... The pattern of interaction with the world market is increasingly shifting toward high technology: The share of high-technology merchandise in exports is increasing. For example, in the 1990's South Korea will become the third largest supplier of microelectronics in the world.

Due to the accelerated growth of hard-currency proceeds as well as increases in foreign assets, the country is shedding the dubious fame of "a champion" in foreign debt, and is becoming a net creditor.

New Partners Are Needed

Rigid orientation toward the United States as the market for sales, and the source of raw materials and capital, and Japan as the source of capital, technology, equipment, and subcontracted parts, which still has not been overcome, gives rise to concern in the country. However, the leeway for South Korea within the framework of the international capitalist economy is limited: Protective barriers around the markets of West European countries are formidable. The solvent demand of developing countries is limited; it is hard to find a substitute for American and Japanese technology and traditional sources of raw materials.

For this very reason, from the early 1980's on the business community has been increasingly looking toward socialist countries. The general thaw in the international climate and the resolution of contradictions which seemed unresolved have created premises for shifting this interest into a practical dimension. In South Korea, they are interested in developing a new large-capacity market, in gaining access to the most advantageous sources of raw materials and means of production, and in using the scientific and technical potential of the socialist countries.

Until the mid-1980's such cooperation existed on an "unofficial" basis, and China has advanced the farthest along this path: The volume of its trade with South Korea has exceeded \$2 billion. In South Korea, they speak of a "Chinese fever" of sorts that is gripping businessmen striving to develop a new market that many now believe to be the third most significant.

Prospects for other socialist countries embarking on cooperation with South Korea are not that definite yet. However, Hungary has already exchanged official trade and diplomatic missions with Seoul (maybe somewhat too hastily, as they believe in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea).

The volume of trade with East European countries was estimated to be only \$200 million in 1987, and it was not systematic. Apparently, the participation of South Korean companies in setting up joint enterprises in socialist countries is more promising than direct trade in goods.

USSR-South Korea

The South Korean companies are very much interested in our market, which is to a great degree the result of structural and technological complementarity of the two economies. As is known, in our country the complex of consumer industries is poorly developed, and this is exactly the mainstay of South Korea's international specialization. On the other hand, in our country the capacities for manufacturing producer goods are developed, which is something that is needed by the "higher levels" of production in South Korea. Also, we have a sizable potential for unimplemented scientific and technical concepts for which the South Korean companies are hungry.

The potential for cooperation is great, and the reality of contemporary international trade is such that even in the past it could not be held down entirely: According to estimates, in 1987 mutual trade through middlemen amounted to \$200 million, including coal, fish, and chemical raw materials from the Soviet side, and metal products, electronics, and so forth from the Korean side. Understandably, this pattern of bilateral division of labor is not very progressive. This is why great hopes should now be attached to cooperation in production, which thus far is rudimentary. For example, plans for the joint manufacturing of fur products with several major companies have been coordinated (Hyundai, Teu, Samsung), and possibilities for building hotels, cooperation in the area of electronics and transportation, and so forth are under discussion.

Soviet ships docked at South Korean ports for repairs at South Korean shipyards, and plans for cooperation in harvesting and processing marine products are under discussion.

This is only the beginning. South Korean entrepreneurs are showing much interest in taking part in the development of Siberia and the Far East. Cooperation (including sales in the third-country markets) in the spheres in which South Korea has gained formidable world experience—electronics, textile and footwear industries, ship repairs, marine products harvesting, construction, tourism—appears to hold much promise. In order to promote these processes, a cooperation agreement was signed in December 1988 by the Korean Corporation for Trade Promotion and the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The agreement envisages, in particular, an exchange of missions by these organizations. Let us stress that this involves nonpolitical contacts. However, establishing economic contacts is the first, though essential, step in eliminating mutual mistrust.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Support for Cambodian Rebels Criticized *BK2303090089 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia* 1100 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Radio stations continue to run commentaries on the creation by the Cambodian opposition of the so-called High Council for National Defense which was announced at a recent news conference given by Norodom Sihanouk, Son Sann, and Khieu Samphan in Beijing. In their joint statement, they pointed out that the three factions fighting Cambodia have a unified political and military plan and will intensify military operations in Cambodia by all possible means.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has voiced his support for this obstinate stand of the Cambodian opposition. UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL [UPI], commenting on Baker's statement, said this demonstrates a radical change in the U.S. attitude toward a solution to the Cambodian problem. In January, at his confirmation hearings before the U.S. Senate, Baker stated that the U.S. Administration would support a Cambodia free of the Khmer Rouge following the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces. Likewise, in early March, according to UPI, the U.S. State Department spokesman said: We will continue to oppose the return to power of the Khmer Rouge group. Moreover, reports from various foreign news agencies say representatives of the Cambodian opposition have openly sought military aid from the United States and, in particular, want Stinger missiles which the United States has supplied to the Afghan rebels.

These various maneuvers mounted by the opposing Cambodian factions have been condemned by the SPK news agency. The agency has pointed to the danger posed by a reinforcement of the Pol Pot group, which is striving to restore the bloody regime in Cambodia.

We wish to recall that at the second Jakarta Informal Meeting held in February to discuss the Cambodian problem, the consensus statement said: The Cambodian problem should be settled through a political solution with the aim of promoting the establishment of a zone of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The participants reaffirmed the Cambodian problem's two closely related key elements—the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces within the framework of an overall political solution, and the prevention of the return of the genocidal policies and practices of the Pol Pot regime coupled with an end to all foreign interference and military aid to the opposing Cambodian forces.

More Arms to Cambodian Rebels May Lead to War
BK2303051189 Moscow in Cambodia to Cambodia
1100 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Vasily Fedorov commentary]

[Text] The Cambodian problem is now at a very crucial stage, and how it is resolved will affect the future of the country.

Tranquillity is now prevailing in and around Cambodia, and although it is just superficial and not a profound tranquillity, it is tranquillity just the same. Tranquillity certainly increases the possibility of bringing about the successful political solution aspired to by all Cambodian parties.

In the consensus statement issued at the Jakarta meeting held in early February, the delegations of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the three Cambodian opposition groups stressed their agreement that the Cambodian problem must be settled through political means in order to promote efforts to establish a center of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Let me repeat that tranquillity certainly creates possibilities for a political solution, but tranquillity alone cannot ensure that the movement for peace will progress. All parties should make steps toward restoring peace inside the country and reconciling the nation. Without such steps, tranquillity might turn into an eerie calm before the storm.

I would like to talk about the danger of what could turn out to be a most destructive civil war. To prevent the situation from developing in such a dangerous way, Cambodia and Vietnam have initiated the idea of a total cessation of all outside military aid to the warring Cambodian factions following the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. It is expected that all Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn in September. Most importantly, efforts should be made to ensure that by then no party will be bold enough to attempt to use force of arms to turn the situation into a direction favorable to itself.

But some reports from Cambodia have caused concern. There has been a report that during his recent visit to the United States, Samdech Sihanouk's son, Prince Norodom Ranariddh, asked the United States to increase military aid to his group.

I have heard that the U.S. leadership has not yet responded to Ranariddh's request. However, leading circles in Washington are actively discussing such a possibility. No one can guess how the situation will develop in the near future.

It is not difficult to understand why Phnom Penh and Hanoi have reacted with grave concern. If they strictly abide by their decision regarding the Vietnamese troop

withdrawal while, at the same time, the opposition groups are being armed more heavily, the present tranquillity will certainly evaporate and a civil war in Cambodia will certainly erupt. They are very worried about the possibility that outside military aid will continue and even increase for the Pol Pot group. The Khmer Rouge have never hidden their aspiration to monopolize power in Cambodia, with all other groups or parties being barred from power. In the opinion of all Cambodians, such a way out is certainly a disastrous return to the darkest era of the fearsome genocidal Pol Pot regime.

Experience from the past years of struggle shows that the Cambodian people are capable of defending themselves against the Pol Pot clique. The Cambodian people have successfully resolved their affairs with their own forces. The main thing is that no outsider should be allowed to interfere in their internal affairs. The continuation of military aid, by whomsoever, to the opposition parties would certainly be a serious mistake leading to civil war.

Prospects for Cambodian Settlement Viewed
BK2403042189 Moscow in Cambodia to Cambodia
1100 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] One month has elapsed since the end of the Cambodian groups' second meeting in Jakarta. The outcome of this meeting and the events that took place thereafter remain issues of keen interest to world opinion.

Our Moscow Radio observer has this comment:

Following the second meeting in Jakarta, the Cambodian leaders have unswervingly taken the lead in strictly abiding by all the points agreed upon.

Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK], recently proposed to Samdech Sihanouk and Mr Son Sann that a summit meeting be prepared and convened as soon as possible. But the leaders of the Cambodian opposition groups responded to this proposal in a strange way. They announced, in Beijing, the formation of a so-called Supreme Council for National Defense under Sihanouk's command.

But, such an attempt to create a superficial solidarity in the ranks of the opposition groups can fool no one. This is because while Sihanouk, Son Sann, and Khieu Samphan were posing for photographs in front of many foreign journalists in Beijing, Sihanouk's son, Ranariddh, was trying hard to get military aid from the United States, claiming that it is for use in fighting against Khieu Samphan's armed forces.

The successive attempts to create the so-called council do not benefit any opposition group. As THE WASHINGTON POST has written: While world opinion is

turning away from the Khmer Rouge, and while even its longstanding allies, such as Thailand, have reduced aid and refused to support this group, Sihanouk's alliance with the Khmer Rouge has greatly shaken his prestige. Further proof of this is the attitude of the new U.S. Government in refusing to give military aid to the samdech and his group.

As for the groups of Son Sann and Khieu Samphan, which have been taken seriously only because of their military strength, serious defeats suffered by them during recent border operations against the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Armed Forces indicate that there is no use for them to carry on the armed struggle against the PRK.

Having heard about the PRK Council of Ministers' decision on reconciliation for military officers and the rank and file of any anti-government forces willing to cross over to the side of the people's power, hundreds of elements from these opposition groups have repented, laid down their weapons, and stopped fighting.

There are praiseworthy changes in the attitude of Thailand and China. The new Thai leader has taken firm steps toward turning this region from a battlefield into a marketplace. This is proved by the promising development of Thailand's political and economic relations with Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. For example, in February this year alone, the volume of trade between Thailand and the PRK has increased more than two-fold. Another example is that during the past 3 months, Ngo Dinh Diem, deputy foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, went to Beijing twice. The concrete outcome of these visits has not yet been made public. But, the events relating to the active contacts between these two countries attest to the important changes of the political atmosphere in the region.

Therefore, events that have taken place in the past month since the second meeting in Jakarta show that:

1. The PRK's prestige in the region and in the international arena has been moderately strengthened;
2. The Southeast Asian countries have been making greater constructive contributions to the cause of settling the situation around Cambodia;
3. Sihanouk's attempt in creating a superficial union of the opposition parties will lead unalterably toward defeat; and
4. The role played by the Khmer Rouge group in the process of the Cambodian resolution is shrinking with each passing day.

Deputy Premier Gusev Receives PRK Ambassador
PM2303104189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception of Minister"]

[Text] V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet section of the USSR-PRK Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, received PRK Minister Hor Nam Hong, PRK ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request.

A broad range of questions of Soviet-Cambodian trade and economic cooperation were discussed during a warm and comradely conversation.

Cambodian Buddhist Leader Views Peace Prospects

Questions Sihanouk's Popularity
PM2003110989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Tep Vong, superior bonze of Cambodia, by correspondent B. Vinogradov in Phnom Penh under the "IZVESTIYA Interview" rubric: "I Am Praying For Man..."; date not given]

[Excerpts] Phnom Penh—Superior Bonze Tep Vong, the head of the Buddhist Church in Cambodia, received me in his residence, the Ounallyy [as transliterated] Temple, after the prayer he delivered to the faithful of Phnom Penh. [passage omitted]

[Vinogradov] What can you tell us about Sihanouk's position as leader of one of the three emigre groupings?

[Tep Vong] Sihanouk refused to meet me in Paris, unlike Son Sann, with whom I exchanged opinions. I believe that the prince has a poor idea of the true state of affairs in Cambodia and therefore often makes unrealistic demands. He states, for example, that he does not believe that there is freedom to profess or practice religion in our country. At the same time he does not tire of repeating that he "loves his people" and that he retains "tremendous popularity and prestige" among the Khmers. These claims are clearly exaggerated and his ambitions are unfounded. Sihanouk's prestige in Cambodia is not as high as it seems to some people. If you look at the figures it can be said that no more than half of the population has faith in his ability to unite the people. Furthermore, it must be recognized that the causes of Cambodia's many misfortunes are to be found in the policy he pursued as head of state. History reminds us of that fact, old people have not forgotten it, but young people did not know about it and are unaware of his "blessings." It must be admitted that the prince's reputation as the "father of the nation" declines with each unconstructive demarche by him.

[Vinogradov] Do you think that a political settlement in Cambodia without the participation of the Khmer Rouges is possible?

[Tep Vong] No, I think that such an option is hardly feasible. Our government advocates the participation of all the Cambodian sides in the settlement, except, of course, Pol Pot and his associates. The dialogue that began in Jakarta inspires the hope that a compromise will be found. Much will depend on whether foreign powers stop giving military assistance to the warring sides after the Vietnamese troops withdraw.

For more than 20 years now there has been war on our land, the head of Cambodia's Buddhists said at the end of our conversation. I am praying for peace and for man, the custodian of high moral values.

Criticizes Khmer Rouge

*BK1803062189 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1230 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[Report on interview with Superior Bonze Tep Vong, head of Cambodia's Buddhist clergy, by IZVESTIYA correspondent B. Vinogradov in Phnom Penh; date of interview not given]

[Text] Replying to questions by an IZVESTIYA correspondent, Venerable Tep Vong said there are over 3,000 monasteries in Cambodia. Nearly 95 percent of Cambodians are Buddhist. Before the Pol Pot regime, there were 4,000 monasteries in Cambodia and 40,000 monks. The Cambodian people have always considered the restoration and building of monasteries an important task, as important as restoring the national economy and culture. Monks are present in every state and social organization. Official public addresses by members of the State Council and the government start with the salutation Respect to the Clergy, followed by greetings to other social strata. This order in itself reflects the respect shown to the clergy throughout the country.

What is the venerable's assessment of the national reconciliation being implemented by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK]?

Responding to this Soviet paper's question, Superior Bonze Tep Vong said: When we talk about national reconciliation, whether we want it or not we must address the clemency issue. People have often asked me whether those who have committed crimes against their people could be pardoned. In this case, the decision is up to the people, according to Buddhist concepts. Our people have already expressed their views: Pol Pot and his close associates cannot be pardoned, while the remainder of the group can return home and live peacefully with others.

In the interview with IZVESTIYA, Venerable Tep Vong said: Our government is always in favor of all Cambodian parties taking part in a solution, except Pol Pot and

his associates. The dialogue started in Jakarta led one to hope that there would be an agreement among various parties. Many things depend on whether various foreign states will stop providing military assistance to conflicting parties after the Vietnamese troop pullout.

USSR Signs Cultural Accord With Australia

*LD2303180289 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT
23 Mar 89*

[Text] Canberra March 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Voronin:

A programme of Soviet-Australian cultural cooperation for 1989-1990 was signed here on Thursday by Yevgeniy Samoteykin, Soviet ambassador in Australia, and Geoffrey Forrester, chief of a department of the Australian Foreign Ministry.

The programme envisages the expansion of cultural, scientific and sport relations and exchanges between the two countries. Leading theatre and artistic companies' guest performances will be held, and art exhibitions exchanged. Reciprocal visits of writers, journalists, composers, artists, architects and other workers in culture will be more frequent. Soviet and Australian scientists and students will exchange visits. Direct relations will be established for the first time ever between Soviet and Australian higher educational establishments and scientific institutes. Even sport contacts will become broader.

Australian teams, athletes, and trainers plan to visit the USSR, and the Australian side will reciprocally host Soviet sportsmen. Both sides will promote the twinning of Soviet and Australian cities, specifically between Leningrad and Melbourne.

Speaking to TASS after the programme signing ceremony, G. Forrester said he was satisfied with the growing Soviet-Australian cultural cooperation. The development of relations in culture, just as in all bilateral areas, testifies to the vast possibilities and prospects of Soviet-Australian cooperation, he said.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Discusses Afghanistan Situation

*PM2403150389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 March 89 Second Edition p 6*

["Text" of Interview with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze by unidentified TASS correspondent in Moscow: "E.A. Shevardnadze's Answers to a TASS Correspondent's Questions"; date of interview not given]

[Text]—Following is the text of Eduard Shevardnadze's answers to questions from TASS:

Question: What, in your opinion, are the causes of the fact that the situation in Afghanistan has remained tense of late and, possibly, has the tendency for further aggravation?

Answer: The signing of the Geneva accords on April 14, 1988 opened a wide path for the advance to a comprehensive Afghan settlement. The main sense and contents of these proposals is the removal of the external conditions that were not conducive to overcoming differences and splits among Afghans, making Afghans realize that there is no alternative to a constructive quest for the ways to overcome their differences by peaceful negotiations, and political compromises and solutions.

The achievement of the accords in Geneva would have been, of course, inconceivable without the constructive contribution that the Afghan side made to the process of negotiations.

Conducting the policy of national reconciliation within the country, the Afghan Government has vigorously consolidated and is consolidating it by its efforts on an international scale. It is precisely the Afghan Government that brought up the question of registering in the framework of the Afghan settlement in the context of international law such provisions as an end to outside intervention and guarantees of its nonresumption, and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

Afghanistan's Government acted in Geneva as a full-fledged and recognized partner in the negotiations, showed the seriousness and sincerity of its intentions. It implemented in full all its obligations under the Geneva accords in connection with the Soviet troop pullout from Afghanistan and strictly adheres to the provisions on non-interference in the affairs of others.

What were the interests of the sides? What were they going to achieve with complete implementation of the Geneva accords?

Geneva opened to the Afghan side the prospects for an end to the war and for the achievement of a political settlement on the basis of a dialogue between the Afghan sides and creation of a broad-based government.

The Pakistan leadership's concern over the presence of Soviet troops in nearby Afghanistan had been removed. A real chance was opened to eliminate a heavy economic and political burden caused by the presence of Afghan refugees on Pakistan's territory.

The Soviet Union received an opportunity to bring its soldiers back home, while maintaining a nonaligned, sovereign, and friendly Afghanistan on its southern border.

The United States would have no need to spend billions of dollars on arms supplies to the Afghan opposition. Another complicated knot affecting Soviet-American relations in one way or another would also be untied.

The Geneva accords were thus signed due to the fact that they were based on a balanced consideration for the interests of the Afghans themselves and for the interests of the parties involved in the conflict. It is only strict and mutual fulfillment of the obligations by the sides that can help achieve the goals set when the accords were concluded. The main reason the Afghan situation still causes alarm and concern is not because there are weak points in the Geneva accords, but because the accords are not being observed in full.

The Soviet and Afghan sides agreed to the Soviet troop withdrawal, proceeding from the premise that outside interference, perpetrated mostly from Pakistani territory, would be completely discontinued in accordance with the Geneva agreements, and the need for a further Soviet military presence as a factor of countering that interference would then disappear.

No Soviet soldier is now left in Afghanistan, but the fratricidal war is continuing, with new intensity. In order to understand why, we should turn to the Geneva agreements again. And we shall then see that the provision on ending interference in Afghan domestic affairs (and this problem is covered by the main document of the four documents signed in Geneva—the agreement on non-interference) has been completely ignored by Pakistan.

Article Two of that agreement speaks of mutual respect for sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, national unity and security, and of each party's right to freely determine its own political, economic, and social system.

The article rules out any use of force intended to undermine the political, social, or economic order of the other party, to overthrow or change the political system of the other party.

It affirms the principle that the parties' territories must not be used in any manner that would disrupt each other's political, economic, and social stability.

It clearly formulates the commitment of each party to refrain from armed intervention, subversion, or any act of military, political, or economic interference, and to prevent within its territory the training, equipping, financing, and recruitment of mercenaries for hostile activity against the other party, or the sending of such mercenaries to the latter's territory.

Separate clauses prohibit each party to engage in hostile propaganda and tolerate in its territory terrorist groups, saboteurs, or subversive agents acting against the other party. The presence and harbouring of such groups, in bases or otherwise, and the training, arming, and financing of them is also banned.

In this article each party also undertakes to refrain from the promotion, encouragement or support, direct or indirect, of rebellious or separatist activities against the other party under any pretext whatsoever, or from any other action which seeks to disrupt the unity or undermine or subvert the political order of the other party.

Let's see now what is happening in reality. Practically every one of the 13 clauses in the article is being violated by Islamabad.

Pakistan has allowed an open, completely undisguised presence in its territory of groups united in the so-called "Alliance of the Seven," which engages in extensive subversive, terrorist, and other activities to overthrow the lawful government of the Republic of Afghanistan by force.

Far from having been closed down, camps and bases, where members of these groups undergo training and other preparations, are still there and escalating their activity.

It is not just with the connivance but with the open assistance of Pakistani authorities that mercenaries armed by them are being sent into Afghan territory, where they indulge in banditry, murder, and violence.

Arms, including heavy weapons, and ammunition are streaming to rebels through Pakistani territory in a continuous and increasing flow. Generous financial subsidies are being allocated as well.

It is not without grounds that stories have appeared, including those in Western countries, about Pakistani officers being directly involved in hostilities against Afghans. Pakistani servicemen were captured deep inside Afghan territory several days ago.

The participation in these hostilities of Pakistani armed tribal units constitutes a special issue, which, in our view, calls for a special investigation by the United Nations and its mechanism for monitoring compliance with the Geneva agreements.

The creation of a so-called "interim government" of the "Alliance of the Seven" in Pakistani territory has been a gross violation by Islamabad of its obligations. It is apparently not by chance that the reanimation of Ziaul Haq's idea of a Pakistani-Afghan confederation coincided with the forming of that so-called "government," which is fully in the Pakistani pocket.

Incumbent President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, for example, does not reject the possibility of returning to the confederation idea. This is a logical corollary of continuing interference directed at violating the sovereignty, political independence, and territorial integrity of Afghanistan.

Question: In the West they are apt to believe that continuing Soviet arms supplies are among the factors adding fuel to the flames of war in Afghanistan following the Soviet troop withdrawal.

Answer: We have unequivocally declared at the highest level that the Soviet Union is prepared to discontinue its arms supplies if such shipments are discontinued to all the other warring Afghan groups. This proposal of ours remains in force.

But we shall not agree to unilateral steps, the more so as our military aid by no means contradicts any part of the Geneva agreements. It is being given on the basis of bilateral agreements between the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan.

Arms supplies to the Afghan opposition via Pakistan or by Pakistan itself are a different matter. Such deliveries are illegal, no matter whose weapons are supplied, because the bilateral Afghan-Pakistan agreement, which is a most important part of the Geneva package, prohibits this outright. I shall note again that if weapons were delivered not via Pakistan, then, speaking from the legal viewpoint, there would be no violation of the Geneva accords. But the matter is that practically all the armaments are supplied from Pakistan.

Arms deliveries to the Afghan opposition from Pakistan territory are actually a material incentive to the aggression against the Afghan state. So this is a case of a glaring violation of the spirit and letter of the Geneva accords. But still I would like to emphasize our readiness to stop, on a reciprocal basis, all arms deliveries to anyone in Afghanistan.

Question: Can one surmise that the Soviet Union will review its policy of developing political contacts on questions of the Afghan settlement?

Answer: No, this is a wrong conclusion. We intend to continue actively raising the theme of the Afghan settlement at all of our international meetings and in all our international contacts—with the United Nations secretary-general, and with statesmen of other countries, including U.S. leaders. This is because the principles that we advance as the basis for achieving peace in Afghanistan—unconditional fulfillment of the Geneva accords, the establishment of inter-Afghan dialogue, and creation of a broad-based representative government, for a broad basis means the participation of all the opposing forces and groups—meet with universal recognition.

Talk on Afghan affairs proceeds differently with different interlocutors. For instance, it did not proceed easily in Pakistan. We have, in general, foreseen this, but we still decided, as you know, to visit Islamabad so as not to let a single opportunity slip by, no matter how slight it might seem.

We were assured in Islamabad that Pakistan will be strictly observing the Geneva accords. This was also reflected in the joint official Soviet-Pakistani statement. We have no doubt that there are politicians in Pakistan who are aware of the responsibility their country assumed in Geneva and are thus interested in implementation of the Geneva accords.

But influential circles that cannot give up expansionist, chauvinistic policy also exist.

We believe we had an effective conversation in Tehran recently. We are also in favour of the continuation of negotiations with the Afghan opposition, but not on specific recipes for internal Afghan settlement. This is the prerogative of Afghans themselves, and this cannot be otherwise.

Why is it that belligerent opposition and some other circles have not begun negotiations with the Afghan Government? The answer is simple: They counted on prompt military success, on a military solution of the Afghan problem. But everything turned out different from what some people predicted. The war, of course, is a war and it has been going on with varying success. But fighting outside Jalalabad has shown that, relying on the national reconciliation policy, the Afghan people, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and the country's leadership headed by President Najibullah are capable of rallying closely together at a time when the country has fallen victim to interference from Pakistani territory.

One would like to believe the words Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said the other day that Pakistan has no desire to be involved in an internal Afghan conflict and that it is interested in establishing peace in Afghanistan.

Question: It is being asked increasingly often in the West and in this country if sending Soviet troops into Afghanistan was not a mistake.

Answer: Every situation is specific, and to answer such a question it is necessary to analyze thoroughly the combination of specific factors that make up the situation. Together with the Afghan leaders, we have arrived at the conclusion that there is no military solution to Afghanistan's problem. Herein lies the answer to your question. But the other side should also arrive at this conclusion, the only right one.

The logic of new political thinking is not abstract. This logic made it possible to achieve the Geneva accords, the troop pullout, and the approval of the fundamental principles of the Afghan settlement in the United Nations.

The decision on the troop pullout was not easy for us to make. We were aware of the complexities against which we and our Afghan friends would come up.

But the resources of Soviet-Afghan cooperation and interaction are far from exhausted by our military presence in Afghanistan until February 1989. We shall continue helping Afghans achieve the long-awaited peace and tranquility.

This is the aim of our assistance to the Afghan people in the economic, social and cultural areas, the assistance that was rendered in the biggest scope in the period when Soviet troops were staying in Afghanistan, and after their pullout.

This assistance is, specifically, given along the lines of virtually all Soviet Union republics, many regions, large industrial centers, separate ministries, and enterprises.

And if a long, drawn-out war is still imposed on the Afghan people, we shall help them in their struggle for freedom and independence, against foreign interference. But, I repeat, we are one hundred percent for the first road.

Question: You spoke of armed tribal units in the context of Pakistan's interference in internal Afghan affairs. Apparently, this and other facts should be viewed as direct involvement by Pakistan in the war against the Republic of Afghanistan?

Answer: Foreign servicemen dressed as Afghans participate in hostilities in the Afghan territory, and this is confirmed by many independent sources. There are proofs to this effect, as I have already said. It is also hard to imagine that members of tribal units, Pakistani citizens, should act without the approval of the Pakistani authorities, getting involved in military operations at their own peril. But even if they are presented as "volunteers," then why could not volunteers emerge on the side of the government troops? This will be an escalation of war again, so it is better to avoid all actions that could take the internal Afghan conflict to a more complex spiral that would be difficult to control.

The obstructionist course of the Pakistani military circles seeking to undermine the Geneva accords is now the chief factor encouraging the continuation of bloodshed in Afghanistan.

It is a duty of the international community to call them to order and compel them to observe all the obligations Pakistan assumed in Geneva. We believe that those who are striving to build new, civilized international relations can cope with this task.

Question: What is the U.S.' role as one of the guarantors of the Geneva agreements?

Answer: Under the declaration of international guarantees, the U.S.A. and the USSR have undertaken to invariably refrain from interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and urged other countries to act likewise. The specific answer to your question should be looked for in the events now taking place in and around Afghanistan.

Question: As is known, the armed opposition, lacking confidence in its forces in direct combat, would like to form the noose of an economic blockade around Kabul, not stopping at dooming the population of the Afghan capital to famine and privations.

Answer: Such attempts, indeed, are being made. But foodstuffs are being delivered to Kabul from the Soviet Union. An airlift is operating, and peaceful residents of Kabul are being supplied with all necessities. A road leading to Kabul from the Soviet border is functioning.

I would like to emphasize, particularly, that our aid is meant not only for the population of the capital, but for all Afghans living in poverty, regardless of whether they inhabit areas controlled by the government or areas controlled by the opposition. We are in favour of rendering humanitarian aid to all living in privation. No distinctions should be made when it is a matter of saving the lives of women, children, and the aged.

And we cannot but approve of the actions of those "field commanders" in Afghanistan who proceed from the same principles. At the same time, some countries, talking about the need for depoliticization of aid to Afghanistan given along United Nations channels, are using this as a pretext for aggravating the hardships of the bloody war and for heightening tensions in Afghanistan still more, being guided by purely political considerations.

Seeking to make up for their military setbacks at Jalalabad and in a number of other strategically important points, opposition groups and those who back them are committing truly barbarous acts.

They are shelling the Kabul International Airport, jeopardizing civilian passengers and freight traffic and civil aviation safety. As is known, an Aeroflot plane was affected during one such shelling. And I would like to say this: Our people deliver humanitarian aid to the Afghan people through the Kabul airport. We have a large

embassy in Kabul. A considerable number of civilian specialists are staying there, and any attempts to encroach on their safety will draw a most resolute Soviet response.

Question: What political steps, in your opinion, could promote "detente" in Afghan affairs?

Answer: A realistic programme of achieving a comprehensive Afghan settlement was set out by Mikhail Gorbachev in his address to the United Nations General Assembly in December last year. All our proposals, including the idea of an international conference on Afghanistan, remain on the order of the day. Then, we believe, it will be possible for an important role to be played by Afghanistan's neighbours, who can sense the Afghan situation better than anybody else.

It is also necessary to convene a meeting of the Security Council to analyze how the Geneva accords are being implemented, or, to be more precise, are being violated by Pakistan. For the United Nations mechanism of control to be able to perform its functions, it is necessary to set up permanent points for UN control on the Afghan-Pakistani border, particularly at Towr Kham, from which there is a road to Jalalabad.

Question: In what ways could the frustration of the Geneva agreements affect the settlement of other regional conflicts?

Answer: Your question is quite justified, for the signing of the Geneva agreements met with the most broad, positive international response for the reason that people, at long last, saw a real opportunity for the healing of bloody wounds in a therapeutic way, so to speak: by means of negotiations, political wisdom, and recourse to the ideas of new political thinking.

The peace-making effect of Geneva's example was manifested in southern Africa, in an end to the Iran-Iraq war, and in invigoration of the processes of Middle East and Cambodian settlement. But what is now happening in Afghanistan is encouraging the advocates of solutions-through-strength in all trouble spots.

Moreover, the frustration of the Geneva agreements is putting a question mark over the further course of an Afghan settlement, with all the ensuing, far-reaching international consequences of this. And this dangerous shift is taking place at a time when countries that are Afghanistan's neighbours, such as China, Iran, a whole number of other countries, participants in the Non-aligned Movement, and many Islamic countries become increasingly inclined to seek political solutions to the Afghan problem. I would like to note the positive role of India, which carries special weight in international affairs.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that the Soviet Union is still counting on those forces in Pakistan that are for a peaceful, goodneighbourly development of relations with Afghanistan and the USSR, and on reason ultimately prevailing over recklessness and ambition.

To sum up the Soviet stand, I must say that the USSR firmly supports the Afghan leadership headed by President Najibullah, which supports an end to bloodletting and the creation of a broad-based government in Afghanistan.

Varennikov Denies USSR Holding Afghan Corridor
LD2403074689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0704 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 24 Mar (TASS)—The assertions of the Pakistani press that the USSR has retained the Vakhn Corridor, which belongs to Afghanistan, with its airbase and several military townships, and that 10,000 of its servicemen were left behind have nothing in common with reality. This was said by Army General Valentin Varennikov, commander-in-chief of ground forces and deputy USSR minister of defense, in an interview published in the latest issue of the weekly NOVOYE VREMYA. Until 15 February this year he was the leader of an operational group of the USSR Defense Ministry in Afghanistan.

Valentin Varennikov added that "UN representatives and numerous foreign journalists observed" the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan "and none of them had any doubts as to our strict and complete compliance with the conditions of Geneva."

The general noted that this kind of conjecturing "is trying to distract the attention of the world public from Pakistan's gross violations of the Geneva agreements." He recalled that when these agreements were signed, the USSR had counted on compliance with them by both sides. The USSR had 183 military camps in Afghanistan, while the opposition had 181 facilities on the territory of Pakistan. "All their facilities remain untouched. Moreover, there are reports that new training centers have been added. We evacuated everything within the agreed time periods and handed it over to the Afghan side," said Valentin Varennikov.

Speaking of the number of Soviet servicemen on the territory of Afghanistan today, General Varennikov said a small group of advisors remains at the Ministry of Defense, a limit of 300 people. "They are engaged in purely advisory activities, don't go anywhere, and have no armed forces at their disposal," he stressed.

Afghan Statement Urges U.S. To Reopen Embassy
LD2303161889 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 23 TASS—Some states closed down their embassies in Kabul after the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, saying that the

Afghan authorities were unable to ensure security of their diplomats, says a statement by the Afghan Foreign Ministry circulated here. However, this decision was mistaken. There was and there will be no threat to embassies and foreign missions in Afghanistan. Nowadays some countries understood groundlessness of their decisions and are ready to send back their diplomatic missions to Kabul.

The Afghan Government, the statement points out, calls on states which closed their embassies in Kabul, to restart their activities in order to render all possible assistance in a peaceful settlement of the Afghan conflict. It calls on the U.S., a guarantor of the Geneva accords, to display goodwill and to return to Kabul its representatives who can play an important role in stopping armed interference in Afghanistan's domestic affairs. Afghanistan is confident, the document points out, that the presence of the Afghan Embassy in the United States and the U.S. Embassy in Afghanistan will serve the cause of improving relations between peoples and governments of the two countries and strengthening peace and security in the region.

Nangarhar Province, Jalalabad Fighting Reported
LD2303201989 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 23 TASS—Afghan opposition units, supported by Pakistani tribal militiamen, intensified the shelling of Jalalabad airport and government forces' security posts in Nangarhar Province where more than 2,000 rockets, shells and mines were fired at them in the past 24 hours. Ten Afghan Army servicemen and civilians were wounded.

The Afghan Army struck at regions where extremists are based, killing 890 and wounding 54. [Kabul Domestic Service in Dari at 1600 GMT on 23 March carries a similar report on the Jalalabad fighting reporting 89, not 890, killed.]

Government artillery fire destroyed nine enemy rocket launchers, three weapons depots, five firing positions and two command posts.

The killed extremists are cremated in common graves and the wounded are shot down by "brothers-in-arms" right on the battlefield, according to reports reaching here.

Two commanding officers of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, Reza al-Din and Hafizullah, [names as received] personally disposed of 70 corpses, throwing them into the Kabul River, which caused resentment among Afghan refugees living in camps near Peshawar in Pakistan.

Hundreds of women who lost their husbands, brothers and sons in action near Jalalabad broke their way to Towr Kham, on the Afghan-Pakistani border, and held a

demonstration there demanding that the bodies of their relatives be turned over to them. In return, malishi [Pakistani tribal militiamen] opened fire, killing 11 and wounding 18 unarmed persons.

Two Afghan Army servicemen and two more civilians were killed and five others, including small children, were wounded when extremists shelled residential quarters and security posts in the city of Herat.

Government forces killed 48 opposition fighters when they attacked security posts in Sarowbi District along the Kabul-Jalalabad road.

Afghanistan's Foreign Ministry dispatched four more notes to the United Nations' Good Offices Mission in Kabul, protesting against violations of the Geneva accords by Pakistan.

Rebel Offensive Against Jalalabad Described

PM2303190189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian

24 Mar 89 First Edition p 7

[Special correspondent in Afghanistan V. Snegirev dispatch: "Pushing Toward Jalalabad"]

[Text] Kabul, 23 Mar—Will Jalalabad fall under the onslaught of the 15,000-strong host of the mujahidin? Without exaggeration, this is the key question. This is currently causing concern among people in many countries. Politicians, the military, theologians, and ordinary citizens to whom the future of Afghanistan is not a matter of indifference are asking themselves this question. Too much is at stake. It is no accident that Jalalabad has been described as the "gate to Kabul," and the "key to the capital."

Many of those to whom I have spoken in Afghanistan in recent days believe that the capture of Jalalabad by the rebels would considerably boost their fighting spirit. And vice versa, a defeat at the walls of this ancient city would spell very grave trouble for the opposition. Western journalists currently living in Kabul believe that, should this happen, the United States would have to radically review its whole stance in respect of the Afghan problem.

But why has Jalalabad been chosen as the target of the rebel attack, rather than some other Afghan population center? The following reasons for this can be perceived. First, it is a major provincial center with a well-developed economy and trade. Furthermore, it is located only 60 km from the Pakistani border. And the distance between Jalalabad and Kabul is very short.

On the morning of 6 March, having mustered a big grouping in the area of the border settlement Towr Kham and assured themselves of multifaceted support from the Pakistani military, the joint detachments of the "seven-member alliance" launched their offensive.

Never before in the almost 11-year-long history of post-Daud Afghanistan had the opposition forces undertaken such a large-scale military operation.

Colonel General Shah Nawaz Tanai, Afghan minister of defense, relates what followed:

"On the eve of the invasion the leaders of the 'Peshawar Seven' and their patrons in the Pakistani military intelligence service made a titanic effort to gather the motley detachments of rebels into something resembling an army. A headquarters was also set up under the command of Abdul Rahim Wardak, a former Afghan officer who at one time studied in the United States and has now become a 'lieutenant general' through the favor of Ghaylani, whom he serves. However, the plan for the offensive, as far as I can judge by reports from various sources, was 'handed down' to the headquarters by Pakistani generals. A competent document, it must be said.

"Units of the 11th Infantry Division, forward-based on the hills between Towr Kham and Samarkheyl, took the brunt of the first attack. The rebels, whose combat ranks included formations of the Pakistani tribal militia (according to some estimates numbering up to 5,000 men) and were followed by mine-laying detachments made up of regular army units, were able to exploit their numerical superiority and managed to breach the defense in this area after 5 days of fierce fighting. They made use of tanks and armored vehicles captured from us earlier, and had rear support from Pakistani military helicopters.

"On the first day Lieutenant General Barakzai, our corps commander, was killed. There were other bitter losses. In all, we lost some 300 people killed or wounded in the course of 16 days. The losses we inflicted on the enemy were incomparably greater. They run into thousands of men killed. Many rebels have been taken prisoner.

"Continuing to advance in the eastern sector, the rebels captured Ghaziabad, where they set up their headquarters, and then Samarkhel, and started advancing on the airport. By that time we had managed to encircle the city with reliable defenses, including trenches and strong points. Reinforcements approached from Kabul and entered the battle on the march. Our air force is operating very effectively. A week on, the offensive has essentially come to a halt and the fighting has assumed a positional character."

[Snegirev] "Have the tactics of the opposition forces changed in recent days?"

[Tanai] "They are adjusting their plans as they go along. For instance, the offensive on the city is now taking place virtually from all directions, not just from the east as

before. They are trying to coordinate their actions and to eliminate, at least for the time being, the acute interparty differences, although, it must be said, they are not having much success.

"Their morale now is by no means what it was during the first days of the fighting.

"Our servicemen, on the other hand, have taken heart. They have gained confidence in themselves."

...The fierce fighting in the Afghan sub-regions continues. It has become known that, on strict instructions from Pakistan, the rebel headquarters has set a new deadline for the capture of Jalalabad—25-26 March.

These are hard times for Jalalabad. However, contrary to the boastful statements of the opposition leaders the city is holding out.

Military Situation Around Kabul Described

*PM2303163189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[Review prepared by Yevg. Bay in Moscow, N. Paklin in Delhi, and A. Ivanko in Kabul under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Opposition Facing Defeat"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Our special correspondent reports on the military situation around the city.

Kabul Garrison Command Center. About a dozen officers have already assembled here, even though it is still early in the morning. They discuss overnight developments. The most serious incident, I was told, was an explosion in a city center apartment block. There is material damage but no loss of life.

The Afghan capital is divided into 11 districts. Territories adjoining Kabul have six defense zones.

"Where is the situation at its tensest now?" I asked.

"In the fourth and sixth zones," Intelligence Chief Major 'Abdullah replied. "It is from there that missiles are being fired at the city."

It was not so long ago that the mujahidin were supplied with new missiles having a range of 45-50 km. It became clear, however, that strikes against the city, even from that distance, are not without danger for the insurgents since the coordinates of their launch sites are immediately reported to the command center of Colonel Majid, the Kabul Garrison artillery chief. He orders a powerful counterstrike. The colonel showed me a map on which all the main points of mujahidin deployment around the city are indicated.

The insurgents try to smuggle weapons into Kabul itself. Unfortunately, the roadblocks checking vehicular transport are still unable to put a complete stop to the influx of saboteurs and terrorists in the city. At the same time, staffers of security organs jointly with the military succeed almost daily in discovering and neutralizing more and more new dumps containing ammunition, shells, and mines.

And what is the situation at outposts around the city? After all, the capital's fate will largely depend on them in the event of Kabul being stormed.

My initial impression: The road to the outpost is impassable even for all-terrain vehicles—deep holes, hummocks, mud. Nevertheless, after a few minutes we did reach the height where the 2d Brigade's No 37 Outpost is deployed.

Earlier it was manned by Soviet soldiers. The outpost is now commanded by Senior Lieutenant Muhammad Asef.

"There are 26 of us, many volunteers and members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. The situation at the outpost is calm today; there have been no attacks," he said.

There is no tension to be felt at the outpost. Self-propelled artillery guns are dug in, everything is surrounded by trenches. I went inside the dugout. It was cramped of course, but well reinforced.

There are 20,000 civilians working on new defense installations around Kabul. The Afghan capital looks like a fortified fortress today.

Afghan Security Forces Seize Arms in Kabul

*LD2303234489 Moscow TASS in English 2324 GMT
23 Mar 89*

[Text] Kabul March 24 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy.

On Thursday local and foreign journalists were shown a big haul of weapons, counterfeit money and propaganda literature at the Afghan Ministry of State Security. They were seized from terrorist groups operating in the Afghan capital.

Rolls of a plastic explosive which is 50 percent more powerful than trotyl, sets of chemical detonators and Pakistani-made remotely controlled detonators, magnetic mines, incendiary magnesium bombs and a host of other lethal weapons. Firearms included Kalashnikov submachine-guns and ammunition to them, two Chinese-made pistols with silencers and hand grenades. There were stacks of counterfeit banknotes with which mujahidin flooded the local market in the recent past, undermining the country's economic situation, cassettes and literature with anti-government propaganda. There

were also portraits of Shaykh Asif Mohsin Qandahari who sends all this to Kabul. He is the chieftain of "Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan", an organisation operating primarily among Khazars and other Shiite Muslims.

Major General Anbdul Mukim Paykar, [name as received] department head of the state Security Ministry, told TASS that another large underground group was exposed in Kabul. On March 18 security officers spotted a vacant house in the sixth area of Kabul where all these weapons were kept. They arrested 26 people. Investigation is now under way. The officers seized 700 kilograms of explosives and 300 metres of bickford cord. To bring in the explosives, terrorists use hollowed logs: They placed explosives into cavities and brought them to the house as fire wood. In the past two months we seized over five tonnes of explosives from various underground terrorist organisations, hundreds of mines, grenades, rockets and great quantities of firearms. More than 200 people were arrested on charges of sabateur activities after the withdrawal of Soviet troops," the major general said.

"All these weapons come to our country primarily from Pakistan," Mukim Paykar pointed out. This is not only another evidence of the secret war waged against Afghanistan but a material proof of violations of the Geneva Accords by Islamabad.

Apart from journalists, representatives of the UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan were present at the Ministry of State Security. They were putting down data on weapons seized, their origin and other information. They did the same job one, three and six months ago. Nevertheless, the Pakistani military continue dispatching, virtually openly, weapons to the neighbouring country, which bring death and suffering to innocent population.

86 Underground Groups 'Exposed' Since 18 Feb
PM2303151989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent V. Snegirev dispatch: "Afghanistan: Sensation-Free Kabul"]

[Text] Kabul, 22 Mar—On entering the extensive grounds of the Soviet Embassy in Kabul after a long break you cannot avoid the feeling that something is clearly missing here. And suddenly you realize: What is unusual is that there are no women or children. There used to be large numbers of them, but now there are none. The school has been closed, and slit trenches and bunkers have been dug beside the sandboxes. The permit system has been tightened up. All the Soviet citizens remaining in Kabul live in houses in the embassy grounds—there are 250 people here. Another, considerably smaller, colony is in the border town of Hayratan on the Amudarya. There are no other Soviet people in Afghanistan today.

The Aeroflot flight to Kabul is now associated with a whole host of acute sensations. Starting with the fact that you leave Moscow on board a comfortable Tu-154 airliner with courteous stewardesses and the usual standard of international services, but in Tashkent you have, unfortunately, to say goodbye to all that. Passengers proceeding to Kabul are asked to transfer to another aircraft, far less comfortable and without affable hostesses. The belly of the Il-76 transport, as vast as a sports hall, is half crammed with seats that seem out of place here, while the whole of the rear part is piled up with baggage.

But it does not occur to anyone to grumble: Kabul passengers know that this has been done exclusively for their personal safety. The Il-76 transport is equipped with a special system to "deceive" anti-aircraft Stingers. In addition, the flight qualities of the air truck enable it to maneuver more boldly in the sky over the airfield's limited protected space—which is very important on takeoff and landing.

Just over 1 hour later I saw for myself what this means in practice. A. Vasilenko, Aeroflot's general representative in Kabul, who was my neighbor in the passenger compartment, invited me to the aircraft's second story, where the cockpit is housed. The Il-76 was flying over the abundantly snow-decked ridges of the Hindu Kush at an altitude of approximately 10,000 meters. But straight ahead the mountains parted, and you could make out through the haze a brown valley crisscrossed by districts of the Afghan capital. However, the aircraft began to descend not well in advance, as is customary on normal flights, but only on entering the airfield zone. Captain V. Ivanov threw it into a steep bank like a fighter and pushed the control stick forward. The airliner dropped its nose and began corkscrewing steeply toward the ground. The descent was rapid, the landing maneuver of filigree precision, and 5 minutes later the Il-76 was running safely along the concrete strip.

"Incidentally," A. Vasilenko said when we were taxiing to the parking bay, "do you see the crater on the left? A few days ago, when this same aircraft with the same crew was proceeding along here, a rocket exploded 20 meters away. Shrapnel damaged the aircraft, but, it is true, not so badly as to put it out of commission. On that day the rebels launched dozens of rockets at the airfield."

Kabul International Airport seems to be constantly in the rebels' sights. Although there has been a significant reduction in military hardware there with the departure of our units, the situation here remains a front-line one. Military transport aircraft of the Afghan Air Force are continually taking off and heading for Ghazni, Qandahar, Herat, Konduz, Khowst.... Almost all the highways have been cut by the opposition, and so communication between the capital and the majority of provinces is maintained by air.

Jalalabad's defenders also look hopefully to the sky every day. A large convoy with military freight and reinforcements recently left Kabul to come to their aid. However, the rebels blew up the bridges over the river in the region of Surubi, and traffic came to a standstill, so all hopes now are pinned on airmen. Flights to Nangarhar Province are particularly difficult, for the enemy is taking up a position in regions directly adjacent to Jalalabad airfield. Incidentally, no substantial changes have occurred in the situation around the city over the past 24 hours, and the battle formations of the attackers and the defenders have preserved the status quo.

Kabul, too, is austere and tight in a military way and rather short on smiles. There are fewer vehicles in the streets than ever before: difficulties over fuel. The markets have become more modest: Under conditions where the situation is being exacerbated traders are finding it increasingly hard to get goods from abroad. On the other hand, there are more armed people everywhere. Residents voluntarily don military uniform to participate in defending the republic.

On the whole, the situation in the city is calm and, I would say, no more tense than in other years when I have been here. Internal Affairs Ministry operations reports tell of isolated cases of crimes. Sometimes there is a bit of shooting—this seems to be more to preserve the conventions. The struggle is being waged on an unseen front, as it were. Life has shown that the introduction of the state of emergency was a timely and justified measure helping to rally patriotic forces and to galvanize actions to uncover the counterrevolutionary underground. Since the day the state of emergency was announced (18 February) State Security Ministry organs have exposed 86 underground groups of various antigovernment parties in Kabul alone, arrested up to 600 extremists, and confiscated 3 small arms and ammunition dumps and more than 1 tonne of explosives. Everything indicates that opponents of the regime are endeavoring to accumulate forces and create their own "fifth column" in the capital.

The flood of Western journalists has subsided, having given up waiting for sensations. Many left on realizing that no earth-shattering reports on "the fall of Kabul" could be foreseen in the immediate future.

*** Release of POW's in Afghanistan Discussed**
18010533 Moscow TRUD in Russian
21 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with V. Mariy, official secretary of the Coordination Committee of the Soviet Society for the Release of Soviet Military Servicemen Captured in Afghanistan, by TRUD correspondent; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] Our correspondent's questions are answered by V. Mariy, official secretary of the Coordination Committee of the Soviet Society for Release of Soviet Military Servicemen Captured in Afghanistan.

[TRUD] In the last "View" television program doubts were expressed about the effectiveness of the social movement for the release of the prisoners. What is your opinion?

[Mariy] First of all I would like to thank "View" for their constant attention to the Afghan topic, including the release of prisoners. But it seems to me that this problem would be elucidated more fully if the leading personnel of the program visited the social organizations that are participating in its solution, and if the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defense took an interest in whether or not this activity is useful.

It is no secret to anyone that society was the first to shed light on the problem of the prisoners. I think that the statement of the USSR Procurator General concerning the prisoners was made taking society's opinion into account. Pakistan's decision to help in establishing contacts with the Afghan opposition was probably influenced to a certain degree by the appeals of Soviet society to the country's leadership. I think that the foreign community, whose attention we drew to the problem of the prisoners, is also making its contribution to a solution.

[TRUD] How do you feel about the fact that new committees for rescuing the prisoners are appearing in the local areas?

[Mariy] The more people who participate in the movement, the better, for with the creation of these committees even more attention will be devoted to the families of those who died or are missing-in-action in Afghanistan, and to those who are suffering from wounds received there.

[TRUD] In your opinion, what must be done today to solve the problem of the prisoners more quickly?

[Mariy] First of all, we must resume direct negotiations with the Afghan opposition concerning the release of the prisoners. And additionally, without delay, we must hold a meeting of the participants in the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and representatives of the opposition, a meeting whose agenda would contain only one item—the release of the prisoners. And the rank of this meeting's participants should guarantee not discussion but an immediate solution to this problem.

And in conclusion, I wish to give my support to "View." No one of us can consider his work successful until all the boys being held prisoner come home.

Pakistan Said Behind Afghanistan 'Fabrications'
PM2303091589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 22 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[S. Bulantsev article: "Frenzied Wahhabi's. Foreigners Fighting on Afghan Opposition Side"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] ...The current struggle for influence in Afghanistan has been fierce and uncompromising. Saudi Arabia is cautiously monitoring Iran's

intentions, and both countries are jealously observing Pakistan's attempts to turn the course of hostilities to the mujahidin's advantage in order to install in Kabul a government that is to Islamabad's liking. For some time ICI, the Pakistani military intelligence, has been persistently trying to make the Afghan Islamic fundamentalists—above all the G. Hikmatyar faction—the dominant opposition political force. In recent years the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" which he heads has received large amounts of weapons and money from Western and other "well-wishers." ICI tells the rebel factions how to conduct combat operations in order to emphasize Hikmatyar's "value."

Islamabad's interference in Afghan internal affairs is not restricted to this. There are documented cases of Pakistani troops participating in combat actions on the opposition side. Convincing evidence of this was published the other day by the Danish newspaper DET FRI AKTUEL. [The following sentence is omitted in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's 22 March Second Edition.] It is also well-known that mujahidin combat actions are planned and implemented by instructors from Islamabad and Riyadh.

I think it is clearly at the prompting of Islamabad officials that the international press has been featuring self-styled sensational reports from time to time aimed at distracting attention from Pakistan's blatant interference in Afghan affairs. Here is another "news item" disseminated by REUTER the other day citing a "mujahidin commander": "Moscow has left 10,000 Farsi-speaking soldiers in Afghanistan to help the Najibullah government prolong the war." The rumor was also put about that Soviet military advisers have been replaced in Afghanistan by Indian officers and that Indian pilots have allegedly been taking part in combat operations against armed Afghan opposition formations. These are foolish fabrications unworthy of serious discussion.

As we can see, the Afghan situation is extremely complicated; many forces hold the threads of a settlement and are pulling them every which way. May they all come together in the hands of those whose fate is being decided during these days and weeks—the Afghan people.

Defense Minister Yazov To Visit Syria in March
LD2403102489 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT
24 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister Dmitry Yazov will pay an official visit to Syria late in March at the invitation of Syrian Defence Minister Mustafa Talas.

'Tangible Progress' in Egypt-Syria Mediation
JN2203153989 Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic
21 Mar 89 p 1

[By 'Abd al-Nabi 'Abd al-Sattar]

[Text] Cairo and Damascus have informed Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze of their welcome of

the Soviet mediation to achieve reconciliation between Egypt and Syria and to remove all differences between them.

A high-level diplomatic source asserted the Soviet mediation between the two countries has recently achieved tangible progress. He also asserted the result of these efforts will soon be announced after specific points for reconciliation are achieved. The source also revealed that there is a Soviet proposal to host a meeting between Presidents Husni Mubarak and Hafiz al-Asad in Moscow after the appropriate atmosphere for convening that summit is available.

The source pointed out that during his recent talks with Al-Asad and the Palestinian leader, Yasir 'Arafat, Shevardnadze expressed his readiness to hold a meeting between them in Moscow to bring the viewpoints of Damascus and the PLO closer.

The source also asserted that during his tour in the Middle East, Shevardnadze called for coordinating the Arab stand toward the current international efforts to achieve peace in the region. The source added that all Arab capitals expressed their approval of the Soviet viewpoint.

'Arafat Meets Press on U.S.-PLO Talks
LD2403114489 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT
24 Mar 89

[Text] Tunis March 24 TASS—Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) Executive Committee, gave a news conference here on the outcome of the second round of the Palestinian-U.S. dialogue.

'Arafat said that at its meeting on Wednesday the PLO leadership examined the results of this round. In the opinion of the participants in the meeting, the talks were of a positive nature and demonstrated that the new U.S. Administration shows interest in the dialogue with Palestinians.

'Arafat underlined anew the importance of convening an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties involved in the conflict and also the permanent members of the UN Security Council. He stated about the need to implement the inalienable national rights of Palestinian people as the main condition for establishing lasting peace in the region. 'Arafat said the U.S. Administration was notified of this clearly formulated PLO position.

As for Washington, it favours in principle the international conference but sets forth a condition: The conference should be carefully prepared through bilateral meetings between Palestinians and the Israeli Government. According to the Palestinian leader, the U.S. side declared for one more time for contacts between Palestinians and Israelis. In this regard, he recalled that the

session of the Palestinian National Council adopted a decision on establishing contacts with Israel's democratic, progressive and peace-minded forces. Simultaneously, 'Arafat cautioned against interference in the PLO internal affairs.

'Arafat named a meeting of representatives of the member-states of the UN Security Council to discuss the details of the Mideast conference among the priority steps to prepare for this forum. He supported the Soviet initiatives for making practical preparations for the international forum on the Middle East.

Responding to the question on the U.S. proposals for relieving tension on the Israeli-occupied territories, 'Arafat stated that the Israeli army and settlers who point weapons against Palestinians were the source of this tension. He stressed that the Palestinians' popular uprising will be continued, since nobody could demand from the people that they stop resistance to occupation. The PLO chairman drew attention to the importance of replacing Israeli troops on the occupied territories with a United Nations-sponsored international force.

'Arafat told those present at the news conference about the concentration of Israeli troops in the so-called security zone in southern Lebanon. The information available to us shows that Israel is preparing for a new war under the carefully drawn-up scenario, 'Arafat said.

Bessmertnykh Receives Algerian Ambassador
LD2203194389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1605 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow 22 Mar (TASS)—Today Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign affairs minister, received Mohamed Yala, ambassador of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria in the USSR. He handed over a message from Kasdi Merbah, head of the Algerian Government to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Questions of Soviet-Algerian relations, and also several current international problems, primarily the current situation around Afghanistan and a Middle East settlement, were discussed in the conversation.

Bessmertnykh Meets Omani Ambassador 23 Mar
LD2303150189 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and Nizar al-Shaykh, ambassador of the Sultanate of Oman to the Soviet Union, discussed on Thursday the state and prospects of the development of relations between the two countries. They also analysed some international problems, primarily the Afghanistan-related and Middle East situation. The Soviet diplomat received the Oman ambassador at the latter's request.

Gonsalves Named Indian Ambassador to USSR
BK2103125289 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1230 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Mr A.S. Gonsalves, secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, has been appointed the next ambassador to the Soviet Union. He succeeds Mr T.N. Kaul. An External Affairs Ministry spokesman said in New Delhi today that Mr Gonsalves is expected to take up his new assignment by the end of July.

Lukyanov Receives New Bangladesh Ambassador
LD2203144789 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 22 Mar 89

[From the "Summary of Major Soviet News"]

[Text] Moscow [dateline as received]—Ambassador of the Republic of Bangladesh A.K.M. Nazrul Islam presented his credentials to First Vice-President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Anatoliy Lukyanov in the Kremlin on Wednesday.

East Europe

Hungary's Grosz Visiting USSR 23-24 Mar

Views Hungary's Political Pluralism
LD2303183989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 23 Mar 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The MSZMP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Karoly Grosz begins his working visit to our country today. On the eve of his visit, he gave an interview in Budapest to our correspondent.

[Begin recording] [Shirokov] Comrade Grosz, the last time you gave us an interview was when you were about to leave for the USSR immediately after the completion of the CPSU's 19th All-Union Conference. How do you appraise the changes and transformations that have taken place in the life of our countries since then?

[Grosz, in Hungarian fading into superimposed Russian translation] The changes underway in our countries have much in common. The process of society's democratization is currently developing very dynamically in the Soviet Union. This is particularly evident now, during the period of preparations for the coming elections, something supported by the entire world.

Another thing I would like to single out is the effort to accelerate the course of economic reforms. From this point of view, the decisions of the latest CPSU Central Committee plenum, which lay down qualitatively new foundations for the further development of USSR agriculture, in my view acquire an extraordinarily great significance.

The reforms underway in Hungary are in some respects similar to the processes taking place in your country. Serious steps are also being undertaken in the area of democratization of political life. I also regard as very important the constitutional amendments adopted and the elaboration of the country's new fundamental law. The adoption of the law on public organizations and associations was a part of this process. New political organizations came into being in the country as a result.

Political pluralism is taking shape. This is a complex process; it arose from certain premises and will, I hope, continue in a positive vein. Along with political transformations, strong economic reforms are gathering momentum. [end recording]

Arrives in Moscow, Met by Yakovlev

LD2303164789 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT
23 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Karoly Grosz, the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP], Arrived for a working visit in Moscow on Thursday at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. [Budapest MTI in English at 1752 GMT on 23 March carries a similar report on Grosz's arrival in Moscow which reports that Grosz is being accompanied to Moscow "by Laszlo Major, head of the office of the HSWP Central Committee, spokesman for the party, and Gyula Thurmer, foreign political advisor to the general secretary."] He was met at the airport by member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Aleksandr Yakovlev, and by other officials.

A TASS correspondent was told at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee that this visit is part of traditional regular consultations between the leaders of the fraternal parties. During a meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, attention will be concentrated on the exchange of experience and information on topical problems of socialist construction in both countries and development of cooperation in every area. Questions of international politics will also be discussed.

Meets With Gorbachev

LD2403081389 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT
24 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—A meeting is held in the Kremlin now between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. He arrived in Moscow Thursday evening on a working visit on the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The main attention at the meeting is paid to the exchange of expertise and information about pressing issues of socialist construction in both countries and the development of cooperation in all areas. Also under discussion are matters of foreign politics.

Gorbachev Comments on 'Democracy'

LD2403105389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0900 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev and Karoly Grosz have opened talks in the Kremlin in Moscow. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party general secretary arrived in the Soviet capital yesterday for a brief working visit.

In the moments before the meeting opened, in reply to a television correspondent's observation that Hungary has a historical opportunity to rise out of its difficult situation through the path of democracy, the Soviet party general secretary said socialism cannot perfect its possibilities without democracy. By democracy I mean that the workers truly participate in the directing of social processes, the general secretary said.

West Europe

Yakovlev Comments on 'Enthusiasm' at PCI Congress

LD2303222789 Moscow International Service
in Italian 1800 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] We broadcast an interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, the head of the CPSU delegation to the 18th Italian Communist Party [PCI] Congress, which has ended in Rome. In reply to a question from the Soviet radio and television correspondent on his impressions of the Italian communist congress, Aleksandr Yakovlev said:

[Begin recording, Yakovlev in Russian with superimposed Italian paraphrase] First of all, in my opinion, the head of the CPSU delegation said, this congress has defined, in a precise way, the relationship between our two parties, which have been so different in the past. It is enough to say that the report given by Secretary General Achille Occhetto dealt in depth with our perestroika and with interest and great understanding. This, Aleksandr Yakovlev stressed, has given rise to great concern to PCI's opponents because the changes taking place in the USSR and in our social life concern not only communists, not only those with progressive views, but a much larger public opinion. Therefore, [word indistinct] the development of the debate and the decisions adopted and the speeches at the congress, from this very point of view.

Naturally, Aleksandr Yakovlev continued, both in the report and their speeches, the Italian communists discussed their problems, Italy's problems, and international issues. I always had the feeling that the debates were taking place in an atmosphere filled with the spirit of today, with the present processes that are taking place in the world and with the impetus given by the deep

changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union. Naturally, for the Soviet communists (this has been) comforting and at the same time binding.

The CPSU delegation, Aleksandr Yakovlev stressed in conclusion, was particularly struck by the enthusiasm manifest at the congress and also at the internal unity the Italian communists have attained. Naturally, this will help them to occupy a better place in the country's social life. This is my opinion. [end recording]

Secretary General Delivers Report at PCI Congress
PM2303161589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report by unnamed PRAVDA and TASS own correspondents: "Italian Communists' Forum"]

[Text] Rome, 18 Mar—The 18th Italian Communist Party (PCI) Congress opened here today. More than 1,000 delegates representing the 1.5 million Italian Communists congregated in the capital's festively decorated Palace of Sports. For the first time 270 people who are not members of the party but who are close to it in spirit and were elected from various PCI provincial organizations will directly participate in the discussion. These "outside" participants, as they are known, will be the emissaries of the PCI's more than 10-million-strong electoral base and will have a consultative vote.

More than 100 delegations from foreign communist, workers, and socialist parties and national liberation movements are participating in the congress along with representatives of [Italian] political parties and public organizations. They include a CPSU delegation headed by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. As well as the official representatives, more than 6,000 party members are guests of the congress, having been invited to attend its sessions.

The opening address was made by A. Natta, member of the PCI Directorate, who noted, in particular, that the distinctive feature of recent years has been not only the awareness but also a broader and deeper recognition of major ideas like the ideas of peace, nature conservation as an urgent necessity, interdependence as the foundation of joint existence and cooperation, and women's liberation as an essential part of the restructuring of society. The most important element in this is the process of disarmament, relaxation of tension, and cooperation.

PCI Secretary General A. Occhetto then delivered the main report, entitled "A New PCI in Italy and in Europe—the Time Has Come for an Alternative."

If we cast an eye over the large-scale processes developing in our world and the complex and alarming global dilemmas facing our planet, he said, we notice that we can in no way ignore the question of the possibility of the destruction of human civilization. On the contrary, this

topic must remain at the focus of attention in political activity too. A modern analysis of world events shows that mankind is squarely faced with the problem of its own salvation. All its efforts must be concentrated on achieving this basic aim. Italian Communists raise this question in connection with the altered character of war and the appearance of nuclear weapons. We are currently faced with having to make a qualitative leap forward as far as the human race's survival is concerned. At the present time this question acquires even broader significance: It is a matter of the peaceful use of technology, the link between the main forms of public life, the quantitative and qualitative character of development, ecological equilibrium, the population explosion, and military expenditure.

This creates, the speaker continued, a new system of interdependence so great and so tightly interwoven that it requires an entirely new political will.

Man has conquered the planet, but now he must demonstrate that he can preserve it, if he wants to preserve himself. The very state of it shows that the successes that have been achieved and the positive processes have also resulted in negative consequences, which have reached the point where they are intolerable as far as the planet and the people living on it are concerned. The global challenges of our time therefore demand, above all, wide-ranging approaches. Economic and technological development cannot be abandoned. That would now mean abandoning man himself. This development must be controlled. But it must not be controlled by romantic methods, by going "back to nature," methods which reduce politics to abstract and haphazard thinking and result in a refusal to consider the interdependence in question.

A. Occhetto devoted a substantial portion of his report to problems of safeguarding peace and disarmament, which he described as paramount. In recent years certain initial steps have been taken on the path to disarmament, the PCI secretary general said. This is an extremely important fact indicating that it is possible to change a trend. In this connection he mentioned the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles and the commencement of talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on conventional forces in Europe.

In his recent UN address M.S. Gorbachev announced unilateral Soviet initiatives in the disarmament sphere, A. Occhetto stressed. It is necessary for the West to give a "relevant and encouraging" response. The new U.S. Administration must not contradict the choice made recently by the United States, but, on the contrary, strengthen it. Moreover, it must strengthen the dialogue. From this viewpoint, he said, we highly value the fact that the meeting in Vienna between E.A. Shevardnadze and J. Baker ended positively.

The Italian Communist leader stressed that a return to the "cold war" would be awful.

Dialogue and new, more constructive relations, like relations in the sphere of cooperation between East and West, between our world's two political, economic, and social systems, he said, are absolutely essential to the management of the new world, an interdependent world: It is a world which can be managed today only in the light of a concept based on general security and political thinking that seeks to overcome the logic of opposing blocs.

Therefore it is particularly necessary today to immediately start identifying the stages which will bring us to the creation of a new world order, A. Occhetto noted.

Democracy, competence, decisionmaking, monitoring: It is on this basis that one can implement a new organization of development. The titanic force of science and technology, the majestic achievements of human civilization, and the impressive result of man's creative capabilities can not only destroy, but also save mankind. But concern when faced with the results of development, of a certain type of development, is the only rational resource which we must not be afraid to overuse.

If today we are forced to ask ourselves for how many more decades the earth can remain man's home unless culture, technology, behavior, and power change, it depends on the current type of development. This problem concerns both West and East, and, as we have seen, the most backward and poorest countries too. The PCI is against both capitalist individualism and bureaucratic collectivism.

We agree, the speaker said, with what M.S. Gorbachev said recently: "The world economy is a single organism, outside which no state, whatever social system it belongs to and whatever its economic level, can function normally.

"This calls for the elaboration of a fundamentally new mechanism for the functioning of the world economy."

Our aim is the construction of a single democratic Europe, the speaker went on to say. We favor a single European market, but warn that this new European market must not be an arena of fierce skirmishing without rules and without controls in which a small group of industrialists, financiers, and politicians who are not bound by the ties of clear-cut democratic control possesses immense power and the right to make decisions. Therefore the fundamental question is that of political power, which must be democratic.

Our position on Europe and the prospects of its unity brings us to the concept of the European path to socialism. And in this connection we believe that it is necessary to achieve greater unity of left-wing and progressive forces on the basis of a clear European option. I believe that it is possible to create a union of left-wing forces for a democratic and reformist European alternative. When it grows stronger this alternative will, in turn, help to

implement and accelerate the process of complete integration in the European community and politics, with the prospect of the erection of a spacious "common European home." We have discussed this question at international level with socialist and social democratic parties and also with M.S. Gorbachev. I can say that the dynamic and open idea of a process of European integration which would contribute to strengthening peace and security in Europe and to further developing economic and political cooperation between East and West is well liked. On the basis of the new political thinking, the PCI leader stressed, it is necessary to have a new approach to international problems which no longer creates opposition between West and East, but gives new momentum to the democratization process and the development of socialism. Italian Communists hope that restructuring succeeds in the Soviet Union in the interests of the Soviet peoples, in the perspective of the struggle by all forces of progress throughout the world for world peace. But it is not enough just to express hope.

European and world forces of progress must make every effort to contribute to this democratization process and thus contribute also to releasing new energy in all the countries of Eastern Europe.

The PCI, A. Occhetto said, is seeking to develop the broadest and most meaningful dialogue and cooperation with the CPSU and with the other communist parties involved in the process of the democratization of the countries in which they are the ruling parties and also with the forces of renewal which in other states are fighting resistance from the old ways in order to pave the way for the new in the sphere of democracy and pluralism.

A. Occhetto stressed that the principles of democracy, as the path to socialism and to nonviolent action, as well as the strategy of "strong reformism" are basic ideas which anticipate and predetermine the "new face" of the PCI. In this connection he noted that the vast majority of delegates at conferences of Communist Party provincial federations and sections approved these basic guidelines.

Concerning the domestic political situation, the speaker said that the present five-party government coalition is a reflection of the crisis of the old political system. It is in this connection that we say loud and clear that our political aim is to make possible an alternative in the sphere of the program and of the running of the country, he noted.

A. Occhetto went on to explain that the alternative does not mean replacing the Christian Democratic Party (DC) "center of power" with another another party as the center. Its aim is to achieve a reform of state institutions, which would trigger a burst of energy on the part of the most active forces of society, and also a reform of the political system, which would make possible an alternative in the running of the country.

We place at the center of our program proposals, the speaker went on to say, the question of totally overhauling the role and functions of the state. We have said and are saying, he noted, that the country needs a state that governs less and is more capable of establishing rules and pointers.

A new role for the state is particularly essential in the most underdeveloped parts of the country, such as the southern parts. We will fight to ensure that the entire country is mobilized in an emergency effort to bring about the powerful and healthy development of the south, the speaker noted.

We propose, he said, a reform strategy that would result in less bureaucracy and more services. Of course, in stating this, we are by no means proposing that we go back, back to minimal state involvement.

In order to reform the state it is necessary to take into account important new elements that have appeared recently, which forces us to review the parameters of guarantees in the implementation of civil rights. I am referring to the big problem of unemployment, problems connected with women's liberation and with population trends which are leading to an older society, and the phenomenon of immigration.

Faced with the failure of the phony rigorousness, which gives rise to indecision and wastefulness, A. Occhetto said, we throw down the challenge of our reforms and appeal to all the healthy and most aware forces in the country, because we are convinced that this challenge is not just a subjective desire but something essential for the country. We are ready for this policy and for this challenge and we are appealing to the most aware forces of the Italian bourgeoisie. We are ourselves aware that it is not sufficient to have corporate protection of only one side, of the interests of the weakest, that this protection on the basis of equality and justice should be implemented in the common interest.

Analyzing further the DC's role in contemporary Italian society, the speaker stressed that the PCI does not set itself in opposition to the DC as a party of Catholics. But Communists are opposed to a power system that paralyzes political and program dialectics and leads to the degradation of the state.

In our pre-congress document, he noted, we state that the alternative means the strategic redistribution of all progressive forces, that the dividing line between right and left and between conservatism and progress will pass through existing groupings and will give rise to new majority and opposition associations.

More than ever before, the DC is not the only party that can rightfully count on the support of all Catholics.

As for us, it is our ardent wish that it be possible, given a mutual division of roles, to cooperate with the church and Catholic organizations ever more intensively on major issues of mutual interest and cooperate in establishing the logic of solidarity, against numerous and powerful attempts at alienation, against the violence that is present in our society. We believe that mutual respect is essential even when positions differ and that important coincidences of opinion are possible on problems relating to human rights, the determined moralization of public life, and the enhancement of the role of many forms of voluntary activity, which must be regarded as an important source of the moral energy needed for the revival of our society and its institutions.

As for the concordat with the Vatican, we repeat that its open structure could itself make for greater flexibility and dialogue between the church, state institutions, and society, thus guaranteeing better interaction with the evolutionary processes of society itself. If these possibilities are to become a reality it is necessary that neither side apply pressure.

The concordat, the speaker noted, is not a matter of principle, but a historically determined manner of regulating the coexistence of two institutions on the same territory.

As for relations with the Italian Socialist Party [PSI], the PCI secretary general continued, all our recent policy has been based on the need to promote ever wider and more consistent unity in the interest of reforms. We did not choose the aims of our struggle in order to cause disagreements between us and the Socialists. Our approach to relations with the PSI has always been politically open and geared to unity. We have always been very interested in any element that has led to unity with the PSI on matters connected with implementing reforms.

Replies from Socialists to our initiative in the sphere of unity have been hesitant and contradictory. But we are continuing to press them. The only essential thing is to carry out serious work in the direction of unity and renewal of the forces advocating reforms. The only way to achieve this is to switch to determining the seriousness of program pledges.

Is there really a desire to work to overcome differences? Is there really a desire to revive the unity of left-wing forces? We believe that a lot of ground has already been covered in the past. Therefore we have chosen a more immediate aim—the alternative; therefore we say that the time has come for an alternative, which must be implemented with the involvement of a rich and clear diversity of renewal forces.

It is important for us to join others in establishing the goals of peace and cooperation. As for us, it is important that we speak with M.S. Gorbachev and with Willy Brandt in the same language.

Some months ago we were portrayed as a party in decline, going through a profound internal split and humiliated by election defeats. Now we apparently see ourselves as the "center of the world." The truth is simpler. We do not see ourselves as the "center of the world," nor do we consider ourselves humiliated and split. We are working confidently, with the boldness that is required for a new upsurge.

Of course, we are driven by a justifiable ambition: Above all, to perform a positive role in cooperation with all the forces of renewal and reform both in the East and in the West. We will continue to follow the path of unity of all forces advocating reforms. And it is this prospect that we will offer for citizens and public opinion to judge. The keys to the alternative will not be found in the hands of a particular party, A. Occhetto stressed. They are in the hands of the voters, and we ask them to use these keys in a serious and responsible manner.

We are on the threshold of an important vote, the speaker went on to say, referring to the upcoming European parliamentary elections. We are urging and will continue to urge support for the reform of the political system, support for the alternative. In any event, the uncertainty of others will not stop our efforts, which will be even clearer and more decisive in order to make the alternative attractive and turn it into a driving force. It is with this in mind that we appeal to other political forces as well.

The speaker noted that the PCI political initiative of recent months has been geared to highlighting the question of rights and of creating a new charter of rights through specific initiatives and political and parliamentary activity. Herein lies, the PCI secretary general said, the great, untapped creative power of the party, which focuses attention on human beings and citizens. The protection of rights and freedoms is thus an effective means of struggle and reflects a political course geared to achieving an effective alternative. The workers movement and the entire world of labor have a special place in this struggle. The PCI is seeking to ensure that all working people feel they are in charge in their jobs and are the mouthpieces for new ideas which guide the working class in its activity.

Italian Communists place in the center of the political perspective the question of reducing the working day, as one step on the way to an overall production reform that is intended to change the very nature of labor and do away with unemployment.

It is this objective that makes it possible to open a new chapter in the sphere of production relations and democratization of production as a whole, a chapter which the PCI regards as the principal one in the elaboration of the program, A. Occhetto said.

Noting that Communists advocate a change in the approach to questions of production standards and management of the processes involved in the modernization of the country's enterprises, he stressed that workers also have something to say about the return to the oldest methods of production organization, on questions of improving labor productivity through intensification, that is, by markedly intensifying exploitation, and on problems of discrimination against young people and women, and injurious production activity.

It is for that very reason that Communists favor a new correlation between rights and duties, a new status for working people's rights. And all this is being done to achieve a new unity in the world of labor.

In pursuing this objective, Italian Communists are prompted by a desire to enhance the role and significance of the trade unions. Aware that their autonomy and democracy follow a parallel course, they intend on this basis to build relations with all trade union associations.

In recent years, A. Occhetto pointed out, attempts have been made to demonstrate that the PCI is no longer necessary. Today workers and employees, even if they are not party members, know from their own experience what the weakening of the PCI means for them.

It must be made clear, he said, that the desire to obscure the significance and role of the PCI has the character of a definite political option and is geared to removing an alternative vehicle of values, ideas, and social interests from the political arena.

Of course, attempts are also being made to obscure the activities of all those who are struggling to create a fairer and freer society.

The PCI secretary general stressed that the women's movement in Italy could be a real strength in the new era of nonviolent revolutions for the very reason that it is an active vehicle of the modernization process.

The women's movement, he pointed out, is the prototype of new politics that are more concrete and more bound up with human values. As one of the chief components of the alternative, it is in a position to contribute to the revival of Italian left-wing forces.

The PCI, A. Occhetto also said, sets the aim of launching an extensive movement for the reform of schools and higher education and cultural institutions in order to ensure future progress for the country.

The PCI secretary general proposed setting up a so-called "shadow government," which would include not only the Communist Party leader, members of the intelligentsia and specialists who are members of the PCI, but also independent people. This is one sign of the way we want to build the new PCI, he said. At the forum today there are already elements of the major innovation: For the

first time it is attended by numerous "outside" delegates who are not PCI members, but who have shared and want to share our common struggle in the future. This is no accident, but the start of a process which must acquire substantive and consistent content.

Thus, A. Occhetto noted in conclusion, we want to give birth to a truly reformist, modern party, which advocates a democratic alternative for Italy and Europe. We are talking about an open party capable of constantly putting forward political initiatives. A mass party with its own views which belongs increasingly to young people.

Having pointed out that the congress is attended by representatives of all the forces that are able to initiate new relations between East and West and between North and South, he expressed the hope that cooperation will strengthen with each of the aforementioned forces in the future for the sake of peace, solidarity, and the development of the peoples.

On the completion of the report the general debate began.

EEC Defense Integration Discussion Viewed
PM2203150589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[Vladislav Drobkov "Viewpoint" article: "Who Needs A 'European Pillar'?"]

[Text] The European Parliament in session in Strasbourg Tuesday gave overwhelming support to a report calling for the EEC to set up a "European pillar" within NATO. At the same time the Common Market was instructed to get to grips with defense issues, and not just the economic and political aspects of these issues, but their military aspects too.

AFP reported from Strasbourg that this report—prepared by Deputy J. Penders of the Netherlands—and the discussion on it were the first time that the European Parliament had made a detailed examination of defense problems. During the discussion there were calls for the West Europeans to develop a joint defense policy, reduce the "imbalance" in armed forces and armaments between East and West, and establish "genuine partnership" with Washington. A report by British parliamentarian G. Ford [initial as transliterated] calling for the creation of an "armaments common market" within the EEC was also approved along with the Netherlander's report. The European Parliament thereby unambiguously advocated building up military cooperation "across the board," so to speak, within the EC framework.

This step cannot be called unexpected. There have long been discussions within the European Parliament, NATO Headquarters, and many West European capitals about a "European pillar." Its supporters cite the need for closer military integration in the EEC, allegedly necessary to ensure progress on political and economic

integration and to reinforce the single European market that is currently under development. Its opponents reasonably warn about the possible negative impact of such a "pillar" on the process of reducing levels of military confrontation in Europe. Some people in NATO are even raising fears that the "European pillar" will not strengthen the NATO alliance but will do the exact opposite—leading to new friction with the United States, which has hitherto had supremacy within NATO.

Who actually needs a "European pillar"?

It seems to me that the adherents of building up defense cooperation with the EEC are defending above all the ambitions of the West European military-industrial complex and the political circles that support it. After all, it is no secret that Washington's determining influence in NATO affairs has long restricted their interests in an unhealthy way. A notable contribution toward the creation of a "European pillar" is also being made by right-wing forces and parties alarmed by the prospect of the easing of tension, arms reduction in Europe, and the establishment of good-neighborly East-West relations. It was no accident that the call for military integration in the EEC to be speeded up was voiced at the very time when the long-awaited twin talks on conventional armed forces and arms reduction and confidence-building measures had started in Vienna. The emerging prospects for overcoming confrontation in Europe clearly do not suit those people in the West who have for decades exploited the "image of the enemy" and the myth of the "Soviet military threat" for their own selfish political ends. And, finally, the ranks of supporters of a "European pillar" were obviously joined by those who because of their old way of thinking could not imagine a "strong Europe" without flexing their own militarist muscles.

One could probably find other motives that forced the European Parliament to take such a belligerent step. We will not waste time on analysis of them, since it would not alter the outcome. Advocating the creation of a "European pillar" within NATO, the European Parliament clearly demonstrated the sentiments and influence of those circles in West Europe which are still unprepared for a radical change for the better on our continent or for wide-ranging reciprocal armed forces and arms reduction. And this influence must be taken into account. The European Parliament's actions show for the umpteenth time that the road toward ending the arms race in Europe and establishing stability and trust at minimum levels of military potentials cannot and will not be easy or straightforward.

Latin America & Caribbean

*** U.S. Coverage of Soviet-Cuban Relations Viewed**
18070165 Moscow TRUD in Russian
19 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by P. Bogomolov, vice-president of the USSR-Latin American Association of Friendship and Cultural Ties: "With A Long-Range Aim"]

[Text] This subject came to the forefront as far back as December of last year when a Soviet-Cuban meeting at the summit was to be held in Havana. It will be recalled

that in those days a stream of U.S. radio broadcasts and publications about some kind of a "crisis" in Soviet-Cuban relations had reached its apogee. It is true that later, in connection with the postponement of the dates of a visit by M. S. Gorbachev to Cuba, it quieted down somewhat, but it is now building up once again.

That motley conglomeration of political forces that had also earlier specialized in driving a wedge between the Soviet Union and the first socialist state in the western hemisphere could be seen behind insinuations which predicted the failure of the meeting between M. S. Gorbachev and F. Castro. The question is not only one about the transnational capital that is developing the Caribbean Basin. To a great degree, the think tanks of the Republican Party which governs in the U.S., a large part of the "important press," and the counter-revolutionary Cuban emigration, which is very influential in the United States, have a bias against Cuba and its close ties with the USSR.

"F. Castro constituted a main problem for the U.S. when he was an ardent young revolutionary," writes Wayne Smith in the pages of the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, and Smith who knows Cuba well, it would seem, is a very experienced author. "Having become an aging dogmatist, he is more of a problem for Moscow than for America." We will leave the subjective and personal assessment to Mr. Smith's conscience and will dwell on his main premise: on the point that supposedly socialist Cuba and its leader represent some kind of a problem for Moscow. This problem, in the opinion of the author, is that the Cuban leadership, you see, is not copying those steps in extending restructuring in its practical activity that are being undertaken now in the USSR.

The BOSTON GLOBE newspaper and certain other means of mass information in the U.S. also reiterate "the firm refusal of Fidel Castro to adopt those types of changes which are occurring in the Soviet Union." One may think that Moscow literally is forcing restructuring on its allies without taking practical possibilities and specific historical conditions into account! But, let us ask, where and when have the leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state called on Havana to follow those decisions that are made in the USSR?

It is not a matter of differences in views on one or another question of socialist construction. There are and will be such differences, the more so because in the relations between fraternal states there is a greater affirmation of an atmosphere of adhering to principles and frank discussion of those acute problems on which the points of view of the parties do not coincide. But, in addition, as Carlos Raphael Rodrigues, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, declared recently in an interview with the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI, the relations of fraternal friendship themselves and all-around cooperation between the USSR and the island of Freedom remain unshakeable.

However, the "logic" of the enemies of Soviet-Cuban cooperation is so vicious that they are ready on the spot to see a quarrel, conflict, and "a David and Goliath fight" behind individual readings and accents. And from this comes the assurance, peculiar, in particular, to Joseph Trister, a reviewer of THE NEW YORK TIMES: "The Soviets," he writes confidently, "are undoubtedly irritated by Castro's rejections!"

So, there it is, no more, no less. They say we twisted little Cuba's arms, trying to turn it to "a faith in restructuring," but it did not give in nonetheless....

I think that these conjectures were refuted recently most convincingly by Fidel Castro himself, the first secretary of the central committee of the Cuban Communist Party and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the republic:

We have no ideological or political disagreements with Gorbachev. I have excellent relations with him.... It is not that Cuba does not desire openness, but that both of our countries are encountering different problems and are therefore seeking different solutions.

Perhaps at least this authoritative opinion will compel some authors, finally, to ponder over why Havana prefers to assess soberly the socio-political situation and the attained level of development of productive forces that have taken shape in the republic. In the final analysis, is it not really the sovereign right of any country to function independently, considering its own conditions first of all?

...So, in failing to prove that restructuring in the USSR supposedly led Soviet-Cuban relations into a blind alley, the messengers of the current propaganda attacks are trying to prove that, they say, the Cubans do not like the new political thinking either. As Cuba is an inherent link in the national liberation movement, then—the enemies of the Island of Freedom reason—Havana must be indignant over the Soviet-American summit talks. And in the Soviet Union, pursuing this vicious logic, there should supposedly be a loss of interest in Cuba.

THE NEW YORK TIMES is especially straightforward on this account: "The importance of Castro to Moscow declines as relations between the United States and the Soviet Union improve." (!) The BOSTON GLOBE seconds such fabrications with enthusiasm: "The efforts that Castro is applying to increase the role of Cuba in Latin America...this is a direct response to the improvement in the relations of the Soviet Union...with the U.S." (!)

Well, it apparently will be necessary to mention those great efforts that Cuba made from the very beginning of the revolution to "build bridges" to its Latin American neighbors. This did not just begin today, but three decades ago. So, today's positive turn in world affairs did not in the least open Havana's eyes to its neighbors in the region. There is no sense in talking about the fact that Cuba supposedly is dissatisfied with the current improvement in Soviet-American relations and the warming in the international climate....

"There can be no doubt at all," declared Fidel Castro in his speech of 4 January of this year, "that we fully support the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union."

And these are not simply words. Because Cuba itself makes an important contribution in close cooperation with the USSR to the radical improvement in the international situation. The withdrawal of Cuban troops from Africa that has begun has delivered a powerful blow to the biased propaganda cliché about "the aggressiveness of Moscow and Havana on the black continent." Both the Soviet and Cuban leadership support a peaceful settlement in Central America—now on the basis of serious concessions and mutual compromises among all of the countries of this region. Today, no one is in a position to deny that the number of foreign military advisers in Nicaragua has been reduced to a minimum. And as a result, conjectures that supposedly there is just about to be a strike in the Central American "underbelly" of the U.S. does not incite anything except an allergy.

Why then, taking the above into account, is there a need for such a broad campaign of defamation and conjectures which was promoted on the American newspaper and periodical market on the threshold of M. S. Gorbachev's visit to Cuba? Judging by everything, the reason is to poison the atmosphere of the Havana meeting itself. And not only it. The forthcoming visit is intended to be the first in a series of visits by M.S. Gorbachev to Latin America, and also agreement to part of them has been confirmed in principle. As can be seen, the move of the Latin American states into the broad international arena, their decisive break out of their own political "periphery, the dynamic diversification of ties with the outside world, and, in particular, the dialogue with the Soviet Union that has begun at the very highest level—all of this is not to the liking of those who consider the western hemisphere as their own private domain in the spirit of the "Monroe Doctrine". This also brings about a strong desire to show the Latin Americans that, see, Moscow has become confused even in bilateral relations with its own Caribbean ally. How can it handle multilateral and multiplan ties with the continent as a whole!

In other words, the initiators of today's propaganda attacks on Soviet-Cuban relations have a long range aim. However, it would not hurt those who are looking into this to wait for the forthcoming report from Havana. As has happened more than once, the truth about friendship and cooperation between our country and the first socialist state in the western hemisphere will once again turn out to be stronger than any conjectures.

Chilean Communist Party Issues Communiqué
PY2003160885 Moscow in Spanish to Chile
2100 GMT 18 Mar 89

[Text] The Communist Party of Chile [PCCh] has emphasized that Pinochetism must be defeated in the elections scheduled for December 1989 and warned about an anti-communist campaign through which the regime intends to perpetuate itself in power. The PCCh

also reported the discussions of the 15th PCCh Congress on both national and international issues, including perestroika, which is viewed as a decisive phenomenon that will overcome old shortcomings in the international communist movement.

In a long 8-page communiqué released by the PCCh Politburo in Santiago, the PCCh warns about the desperate maneuvers being carried out by the regime to perpetuate the system with or without Pinochet. To this end, the PCCh emphasizes, the regime is using anti-communism as an overriding argument. The communists have also expressed their concern because other sectors, including some of the opposition, are using the same argument now.

The PCCh recalls that throughout history anti-communist has always been used as an instrument to justify events, such as the overthrow of the lawful and constitutional government of Salvador Allende. Therefore, the PCCh warns that it is impossible to remain passive regarding this situation of special importance being experienced by Chile today in view of the upcoming elections that could put an end to the 15 and ½ year-old regime.

The PCCh communiqué notes that this anti-communist campaign includes the clumsy accusation orchestrated by the government that the PCCh was responsible for the poisoning of exported Chilean fruit. This anti-communist campaign has reached pathological levels.

The PCCh communiqué adds that, as part of this campaign, various reports have been distorting the discussions being held in the 15th PCCh Congress. The PCCh warns that these are democratic and open discussions, basically aimed at seeking a way to lead the country to an effective and expeditious transition to democracy.

The PCCh communiqué reports on the reviews made in the 15th PCCh Congress on the national and international situation, with special emphasis on the perestroika phenomenon in the Soviet Union. This phenomenon has been described as a revolution of the revolution carried out to overcome all the negative aspects that have marked labor in various fields as a byproduct in the history of the struggle waged by the international communist movement.

The PCCh communiqué states that for Chilean Communists perestroika not only represents a Soviet event, but an international and Chilean event as well, supporting the process of renewal in which we too are engaged.

Concerning the 15th PCCh Congress and its democratic discussions, the PCCh communiqué warns that the most pungent attacks lately are aimed at the PCCh policy of the popular rebellion of the masses.

In this regard, the PCCh makes it clear that in no way will it accept the perpetuation of the current institutional system. The PCCh adds that its policy on the democratic task that needs to be focused on: the need to dismantle the ironclad structure imposed by the regime, a structure the regime to keep in power beyond Pinochet.

Political & Social

Ammonia Tank Fire Extinguished; Evacuees Returning
LD2303132689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] We have received a report from Lithuania, from our correspondent Yelena Kurkletita:

Yesterday evening the fire at the Jonava Azot enterprise was extinguished. As is known, after the ammonia storage tank collapsed a large amount of liquid escaped and a nearby depot of nitrophosphates caught fire. A chemical reaction began which resulted in the emission of poisonous clouds. There have been no similar accidents in the country, so it is very important to take the correct decisions immediately. Here is what Kemezhus, deputy head of the fire protection directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, had to say:

In point of fact this was not really a fire. We rapidly extinguished the fires on the premises and other places, but no one knew how the nitrophosphate would behave. This was the first time we had come across such phenomena. After some time and acting on advice from scientists, we began operations at the storage facility. Each of the firemen knew very well how dangerous the chemical reaction was for the health of thousands of people, yet they went in and risked their lives. Every hour was valuable.

In this complicated struggle, Genrikh Narkeyevich, a section commander and sergeant of the internal services, died. A governmental commission is to analyze the situation. The people evacuated from the site of the accident and the nearby settlements, and there were about 30,000 of them, are returning home.

Continued Reportage on Election Campaigns, Results

Yeltsin Denies Leading 'Opposition'
LD2403110389 London BBC World Service in English
0709 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin by Moscow correspondent Martin Sixsmith from the "Twenty-Four Hours" program; date, place not given; Yeltsin speaks in Russian fading into superimposed English translation]

[Text] The past week's, unprecedented demonstrations in Moscow in favor of Boris Yeltsin and his candidacy in Sunday's elections have further focused attention on an already controversial figure. Mr Yeltsin, who was thrown off the Politburo and is now staging a highly unorthodox political comeback, may be the darling of those who pack his election meetings, but he is obviously not the favorite of the Communist Party hierarchy and that includes those closest to Mikhail Gorbachev. For example, one of Mr Gorbachev's most trusted allies, Aleksandr Yakovlev, has just given an interview in which he dismissed Mr

Yeltsin as consumed by ambition and his political ideas as confused and not very interesting. Well, judge for yourself. Mr Yeltsin has been talking to our Moscow correspondent Martin Sixsmith. He started by giving his view of the pace of democratization.

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] Well, in one sense it's a good thing because the people are waking up from their political apathy. So it's a positive factor. But, of course, we must not let it go beyond the limit into extremism.

[Sixsmith] But where is that limit?

[Yeltsin] The limit is at the border between order and disorder. Order and disorder.

[Sixsmith] What about all the demonstrations in the center of Moscow? Aren't they disorder?

[Yeltsin] I'm not overconcerned about those demonstrations; I'm not worried about them. People were calm; there weren't any excesses or clashes. People decided that that was the way they wanted to express their opinions.

[Sixsmith] Yes, but surely the cause of all the passions is your campaign, isn't it?

[Yeltsin] But I feel that if they hadn't tried to stand in the way of my campaign, there would have been no disturbances. Everything would have been calm.

[Sixsmith] From where is the obstruction coming?

[Yeltsin] First of all, from the Moscow city authorities. But I think it has the agreement [Yeltsin hesitates]—how can I say this—perhaps not the agreement, but at least the knowledge of the very top levels.

[Sixsmith] Why is the party leadership so afraid of you?

[Yeltsin] The word afraid, I don't know what you mean by that. But it is clear that they don't want me to get elected. They get together and they say: We are not going to let Yeltsin through. I suppose it's because I'm an awkward customer. They don't know how to deal with me.

[Sixsmith] Do you represent a threat to the system? Is your campaign a threat to the system?

[Yeltsin] No, I wouldn't say that! I don't want people to portray me as a rival to Mr Gorbachev, not under any circumstances.

[Sixsmith] I've spoken to a lot of people over the last few days and a lot of people look on you as an alternative, as the founder of a new party, of a new system in the Soviet Union. Is that what your campaign is about?

[Yeltsin] I haven't given people grounds to think that. It is quite a different matter that I've a whole series of elements in my program which are, I would say, really revolutionary, very serious, very fundamental measures. That's because glasnost has in a certain sense come to a sort of standstill. It needs a new impulse to get it going again. But I'm not the founder of a new political opposition. I'm not the leader of an opposition party.

[Sixsmith] But people want that from you.

[Yeltsin] If you are talking about a multiparty system here, I've made my opinion very clear. We have to heed the views of the people as a whole, not just those of Gorbachev or Yeltsin. They're not the important ones. But if the whole of society wants it, then that's serious. The multiparty system must not be a forbidden theme. We must talk about it, then we can draw conclusions in a year or 2 and decide what to do about it, but don't say I'm calling for an opposition party. No! The conditions aren't there for that yet.

[Sixsmith] Not yet, you mean?

[Yeltsin] The people will have to decide that, but we must open the gates for discussion.

[Sixsmith] Boris Nikolayevich, you're still a member of the Communist Party.

[Yeltsin] What do you mean still? Don't sound so gloomy as though I'll be thrown out tomorrow. I don't think I've given them any reason to throw me out.

[Sixsmith] What about the commission that they set up to investigate you?

[Yeltsin] The commission of inquiry? Well, people can't understand why they had to do that. I get lots of telegrams.... [changes thought] You know, even in the darkest period of stagnation, they didn't do that sort of thing.

[Sixsmith] What could damage your chances of being elected?

[Yeltsin] Well, that campaign against me, of course. The sudden setting up of that commission of inquiry by chance or by design just a few days before the elections. That's really unethical. They could have done it a week after the elections so as not to affect the results. It wasn't a coincidence that they decided to do it when they did. I think it is a mistake on their part because it could lead to destabilization. Fifty-thousand people have been demonstrating, perhaps 100,000 could demonstrate. They shut down factories in some towns. They shouldn't do such a thing before the elections. They shouldn't make such rash decisions. [end recording]

Boris Yeltsin in conversation there with Martin Sixsmith.

Italian Daily Interviews Yeltsin

AU2403123989 Rome ANSA in English 1231 GMT
24 Mar 89

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, March 24—"We cannot rule out the possibility of (electoral) fraud or provocation. But the demonstrations in the past few days have shown that the people have woken up out of their indifference and it will no longer be possible to rule them with a stick" maverick Soviet politician Boris Yeltsin, the so-called "kamikaze of perestroika", said in a interview appearing in today's edition of the rome daily LA REPUBBLICA.

According to Yeltsin, who was ousted from his post as Moscow Communist Party chief because he wanted a more radical application of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika (restructuring) program, "it is clear that someone will stop at nothing to keep me from becoming a deputy, does not accept the idea that I enter the Supreme Soviet." Yeltsin, in fact, is a candidate in this Sunday's elections for the new Soviet national assembly.

The popular Soviet politician went on to explain that the reason why he is an "uncomfortable" candidate is because "I am not afraid to voice my views even if they differ from those of the ruling committee.... This together with the fact that my platform includes a frontal attack against the bureaucratic system and those who protect it."

Asked to comment on the surprise decision by the Communist Party Central Committee commission to open an investigation against him, Yeltsin affirmed: "I believe that no Soviet citizen nor Communist can explain this. I cannot see any justification for a Central Committee commission investigating a single individual.... To be perfectly honest, not even during the worst periods of stagnation did I see anything like this."

On whether conservative or "new force" personalities were behind the campaign against him, Yeltsin replied "both of them."

Regarding the possibility of electoral fraud to keep him out of Parliament, Yeltsin confessed that "I cannot rule this out. This is a very serious matter and because of this I ask that the laws on public electoral commission controls be observed".

Asked whether the recent mass street demonstrations in his favor may have created a political problem for the Soviet leadership, Yeltsin affirmed "maybe yes. But this should have been taken into consideration before. The more one tries to pressure or repress the Russians the more solidarity grows. Everyone should know that."

On the views of those who see Yeltsin as a possible rival of Gorbachev, Yeltsin underlined that "I am not and do not wish to be an alternative to Gorbachev. Who thinks this in reality does not think. I will never be against Gorbachev."

Solovyev Speaks in Leningrad

LD2303220589 Moscow TASS in English 2117 GMT
23 Mar 89

[Text] Leningrad March 23 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee clearly expressed its electoral platform in its address to the party and the Soviet people. Its essence is to expand and deepen processes of perestroika, concern for the development of the social sphere and a rise in the Soviet people's living standards, said Yuriy Solovyev, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Leningrad Regional Party Committee. On Thursday he addressed an electoral meeting as a candidate running from a territorial constituency. The elections here, as well as throughout the country, will be held on March 26.

The candidate gave much attention to the development of democracy in the country. He noted that perestroika runs into opposition from executives accustomed to the style of management by decree and from leaders of some informal public organisations aspiring for the role of sole protectors of freedom and glasnost (openness). Pluralism of opinions for them turns into an expression of only their own opinion, with complete disregard for any other viewpoints, Solovyev noted.

The Leningrad Communist leader said that he happened to meet a group of representatives from informal organisations, and he formed an opinion that they have much more points of contact than principled differences. "Our aim is not confrontation but consolidation of all sound forces on the basis of the 19th all-union party conference," the speaker pointed out. He said authoritatively that any constructive initiative would be welcomed.

Solovyev dealt further with specific areas of the activity of the Leningrad party organisation, aimed at tackling urgent tasks to improve living standards of Leningraders. He devoted a part of his speech to ecology. He noted that a decision was made to launch a resolute campaign against violators of the ecological situation, down to shutting enterprises.

The elections to the Soviet parliament is a major political milestone of perestroika, he pointed out. "Nobody will undermine our confidence in feasibility of our goals," the speaker said in conclusion.

Vlasov Meets Rostov Combine Builders

LD2303184689 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 23 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov's meetings with voters are continuing in Rostov Oblast. Correspondent N. Chebotarev reports:

[Chebotarev] Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov today met with the Rostselmash workers, who comprise tens of thousands of voters. Aleksandr Vladimirovich met them at their work stations in the design office and in the workshops. Rostselmash is at present not experiencing the best of times, although it would seem that everything should be exactly the reverse. The radical modernization of the enterprise is approaching completion. The production of a good combine has been organized. This is the appraisal that has been given by the Don-1500 machine operators. Nevertheless, the knot of problems at Rostselmash is very tightly drawn indeed. The transition to complete financial autonomy and self-recoupment have made the collective and state farms spend their funds rationally, or more accurately, I would say economically, and their orders for equipment have of late been lower. Specialists consider this to be a temporary situation. In such a situation there is a need for flexibility. However, as yet there is indeed insufficient flexibility at our enterprises, and this concerns not only Rostselmash. In short, the combine harvester builders have amassed many questions to put to their candidate people's deputy. They posed them forthrightly and sharply, and it must be said that they heard equally forthright and honest answers. [video shows Vlasov and group touring Rostselmash, and Vlasov conversing with workers; video then shows exterior of a building and an audience assembled inside; Vlasov is shown addressing those assembled]

Later in the day Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov met with the voters of National Territorial Constituency No 24, for which he is standing as a people's deputy.

[Begin Vlasov recording] During my present encounters, many questions have been frank, sharp and of state importance. All this is strikingly different in spirit and character from the election campaigns of past years. We now have grounds to speak of a straightening up of the Soviet individual and his acquisition of a sense of dignity and civic responsibility.

Summing up the discussions that have taken place over the past few days, their main content was reflections on the progress of restructuring and its destiny, its first results, its difficulties, and particularly its prospects. All that the party has mapped out will be implemented if every Communist and every Soviet individual is loyal to restructuring, and if we all place our collective thinking and will at the service of our work.

A major problem, maybe the most acute one, continues to be the provision of food for the country's population. As you know, a few days ago the party Central Committee plenum was devoted to a cardinal solution of this problem. It elaborated a new scientifically-based and comprehensively considered agrarian policy.

The main thing now is to move ahead, broadly and profoundly developing creative work to implement the practical tasks of restructuring. [applause] [end recording]

Latvian Leader Faces Possible Defeat

PM2303164389 London DAILY TELEGRAPH
in English 23 Mar 89 p 16

[Ian Smiley dispatch: "Communist Party's Leader in Latvia Faces Poll Defeat"]

[Text] Latvia—The Communist Party leader of Latvia, Mr Janis Vagris, may be heading for defeat in Sunday's Soviet general election in the tensest and most Russified of the three small Baltic republics. He may even be beaten by a candidate whose National Independence Movement demands outright secession from the Soviet Union, and who calls Latvia's present status as being under military occupation.

If Mr Vagris fails to win his four-candidate race in Riga, the capital, it will be a humiliation for the Communist Party, and the first time in the Soviet Union's history that a party leader has been allowed to lose an open election.

According to Mr Janis Peters, who is both a member of the local party's ruling central committee and a leading figure in the massively-supported Latvian Popular Front, the year-old movement which demands sweeping autonomy, there should be an immediate Latvian Communist Party extraordinary congress if Mr Vagris is humiliated. The reform-minded Mr Anatoliy Gorbunovs, current chairman of Latvia's Supreme Soviet, or parliament, would probably then become party leader.

The Popular Front is supporting 36 out of 40 candidates in the election, and expects to win a good three quarters of the seats.

"I hope we can then combine to create a democratic faction of 150 to 160 people in the new Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow," said Mr Ivans Dainis, 33, the Front's president.

But Latvian nationalists have an even tougher task than their Baltic colleagues in Lithuania and Estonia, because they are already an ethnic minority in their own land.

There are fears, however, that thousands of Soviet soldiers stationed in the Baltic region may be instructed to vote for beleaguered party heavy-weights in tricky constituencies, while many nationalists suspect that the authorities, who control the supply of paper, may print extra slips for stuffing the ballot boxes. The results of this year's census are yet to be divulged, but most Latvians reckon they make up about 45 percent of the 2.6 million-strong republic and only a third of Riga's population.

Many nationalists, who feel they are being swamped by Russians and other Slav immigrants, betray an air of desperation. "But the people are being revitalised, they no longer feel they are doomed," said Sandra Kalniyete, a Popular Front leader.

Three key laws which the nationalists hope will be enforced by a more independent-minded parliament after the election would make Latvian the sole state language, curb immigration and redefine citizenship so that recent immigrants would not qualify.

Mr Vagris has an advantage in his race against the independence candidate, Mr Juris Dobelis, because two-thirds of his electorate are Russian or Ukrainian.

The situation is complex because the party is obviously split between reformers and hardliners, while sectarian tension is rising because a growing counter movement of Russian workers, called the Interfront (short for International Front), is threatening strikes to prevent the passing of the language and citizenship laws. The Interfront hotly denies that Hitler and Stalin arranged a forcible annexation of Latvia in 1939, and ironically portrays itself as the champion of the oppressed working class.

"The democratic infection is spreading," said Mr Dainis, but he repeatedly urged caution and gradual change, stressing that "we have no claims to a complete exit from the Soviet Union".

He said that the Popular Front adhered strongly to "the Leninist principles of federation," adding with a smile: "The political situation is such that we must refer to Lenin. But we don't want to be slaves of Moscow any more."

Journalists' Union Elections

PM2303140789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS-IZVESTIYA report: "USSR Union of Journalists"]

[Text] The main question at the enlarged plenum of the USSR Union of Journalists Board on 21 March was the question of elections of USSR people's deputies. These are the deputies from the USSR Union of Journalists: L.I. Batynskaya, A.S. Yezhelev, V.P. Zuykov, L.P. Kravchenko, V.N. Kucher, A.G. Mukhtarov, I.M. Panov, M.N. Poltoranin, N.A. Shibik, and D.Yu. Shnyukas.

The following did not receive the necessary number of votes: A. Bovin (IZVESTIYA political observer), K. Duyseyev (editor of the newspaper SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN), O. Latsis (first deputy chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST), V. Ovchinnikov (PRAVDA political observer), G. Seleznev (chief editor of UCHIELSKAYA GAZETA).

Social Organizations' Elections

PM2403125589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 19 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Choice Made"]

[Text] As the spokesman for social movements in the cultural sphere, the Soviet Culture Fund will henceforth represent their interests through its elected members in the supreme organ of state power. On 17 March people's deputies were elected from this organization by secret ballot at an enlarged session of the founding council and the Soviet Culture Fund Board.

They are: Academician D.S. Likhachev, chairman of the fund's board; (K.V. Nechayev), metropolitan pitirim of Volokolamsk and Yuryevskiy; Academician M.A. Savitskiy from the USSR Arts Academy; I.D. Samoylov, director of the Museum of Conservation of Wooden Folk Architecture in the Sverdlovsk village of Nizhnyaya Sinyachikha; and poet G. Safiyeva.

For the first time, the country's Union of Composers will be represented in the supreme organ of state power by 10 people's deputies. Their names were given at an enlarged plenum of the board of this social organization held in Moscow 18 March.

A noteworthy feature which appears to reflect real changes in our electoral system is that the plenum participants were given the opportunity to read the minutes of the meetings between the candidates for people's deputies and the voters and be present during the counting of the votes. The members of the electoral committee worked literally before the eyes of the plenum delegates.

Eventually, the following were elected as people's deputies from the USSR Union of Composers: V.A. Laurushas, E.M. Mirzoyan, K. Moldobasanov, A.P. Petrov, Ye.F. Stankovich, E.M. Tamberg, T.N. Khrennikov, S.F. Tsintsadze, R.K. Shchedrin, and A.Ya. Eshpay.

An enlarged plenum of the Soviet Charity and Health Fund Board held 18 March elected the following as USSR people's deputies: fund activists V.V. Menshikov, A.Ya. Neumyvakin, O.A. Mitalene, and N.A. Kasyan and (A.M. Ridiger), metropolitan aleksiy of Leningrad and Novgorod.

Academy Elects Deputies 23 Mar

LD2403072189 Moscow TASS in English 0711 GMT
24 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—The conference of scientific societies and associations at the Soviet Academy of Sciences on Thursday elected people's deputies who will take ten seats in the new Soviet parliament. They were contested by 13 candidates.

Twenty scientific societies and seven associations unite about 150,000 scientists according to their profession. Under the new electoral law, public organisations received the right directly to elect 750 deputies, which is one third of a new 2,250-seat Congress of People's Deputies.

Those elected include Natalya Bekhtereva, eminent neuro-physiologist, Tatyana Zaslavskaya, sociologist, Aleksandr Yanshin, specialist in the field of the science of the earth, Alexey Yablokov, biologist, Nikolay Vorontsov, zoologist and geneticist, Oleg Gazenko, one of the founders of space medicine, Georgiy Shakhnazarov, political scientist, Vladimir Kotlyakov, director of the geography institute, Sergey Lavrov, head of the Geography Department at Moscow University, and Lev Kuznetsov, lecturer at the Botany Department of the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute.

These are not only eminent specialists in various fields of science, but also people whose active civic stance is widely known in this country. Efforts to create a state ruled by law, to democratise the management of science, and increase allocations for nature conservation are central to their programmes.

Academician Aleksandr Yanshin, who played a marked role in cancelling the project to divert northern rivers, to build the Volga-Chograi Canal, and other projects which were disastrous to nature, considers it necessary to make sure that a law be enforced on a mandatory nationwide discussion and extra-departmental ecological-economic expertise of all major national economic projects.

Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya refuted the charges turned up in the press that she initiated the programme of re-settling small villages across the country, which was effected in the 60s and 70s. Nevertheless, critical remarks addressed to her have evidently affected the polling results: Zaslavskaya tallied the greatest number of 'no' votes—154 out of 350.

The Academy of Sciences itself, to which 20 mandates were assigned, on Wednesday elected only eight deputies from 23 contenders. The rest failed to gain more than a half of votes of 1,279 members of the academy and representatives of scientific institutions. Such results are possibly attributed to the fact that wide circles of the academic community regarded as undemocratic the nomination of candidates to deputies from the academy held two months ago. The repeated nomination will be held not earlier than in two weeks and new elections will be held in some time which is necessary for the election campaign.

Candidate Represents Psychology

OW2403051589 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1900 GMT 21 Mar 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] Several days remain before the election of USSR people's deputies. In public organizations these elections are already being held. Yesterday they took place in a

number of public organizations, including the Academy of Sciences. Our correspondent, Oleg Bobin, met with one of the candidates. Here now is his report. [video cuts to show Bobin in an unidentified study interviewing B.F. Lomov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Begin recording] [Bobin] Our interlocutor is Boris Fedorovich Lomov, director of the Institute of Psychology of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He is a candidate for people's deputy from scientific societies and associations of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Boris Fedorovich, your program is of interest in view of the fact that for the first time a science such as psychology will be represented among other scientific institutions. The very principle regarding relations toward psychology as a science is changing.

[Lomov] I should say that when we speak about the sciences that suffered during the period of the personality cult, it is usually cybernetics and genetics that are mentioned. In actual fact, however, the first blow was dealt to the humanities, particularly to psychology. This is understandable when one considers that the very essence of the psychological sciences contradicts the principle according to which man represents nothing more than a cog in the social mechanism. After all, psychology studies the characteristics of a person, the individual differences between people, and this is not compatible with the ideology of a cog.

I would like to note that during the period of restructuring and democratization in our life, psychology is gaining increasing significance. In many appearances our leader, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, has stressed that one of the most difficult tasks is that of changing the psychology of people. In connection with this I consider that psychology must take a very active part in the preparation of economic, social, and other projects and government decisions, as well as in their realization. If you wish, the realization of various projects and decisions must be accompanied by psychology.

It should be noted that we sometimes get an effect different to the one we had expected, and often even completely contrary to the one on which we were relying. A vivid example here is the struggle against alcoholism. It was begun without taking into consideration the habits, traditions, and many other things that are characteristic of human psychology.

It is even more important to take into consideration the psychological characteristics of people when creating new equipment and new technical systems. Statistics show that an enormous number of various incidents, accidents, and catastrophes—up to 70 or 80 percent, according to some figures—can be explained by psychological factors, by the fact that equipment does not

conform with the possibilities and characteristics of man. That is why even technical systems and technical devices must undergo psychological or a more broad ergonomic examination.

Insofar as I am being nominated by a scientific society, it is natural that there should be an interest in seeing scientific societies occupying a higher level than they occupy now. I think that the primary role in the examinations that I have mentioned must be played by the scientific community, insofar as it is an independent community. [end recording]

*** Procedures for Voting on Deputies Clarified**
18000673 Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Mar 89
p 4

[V.P. Zhdanov responses to readers' letters: "How Will We Vote?"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Election day for the USSR people's deputies draws ever closer and the mail contains increasing numbers of questions connected with the organization of the voting. What are the special features of this present election campaign? V.P. Zhdanov, deputy chief of the Central Election Commission legal group, responds to readers' letters connected with this.

This election is like no other. We used to be given a voting paper with a single candidate. You could strike through the name or leave it, whichever you wanted. Now we have five candidates in our district. The programs of two of them please me greatly. Can I vote for both of them? (A. Seregin, Moscow)

[Zhdanov] Let me answer that one directly: No, this is impossible. Remember the provision in the Law on the Election. At the polling station the voter will receive two voting papers: One is for elections for the territorial district and the other for the national-territorial district for the union republic. In the autonomous republics, oblasts and okrugs voters will be given a third voting paper for the national-territorial district of the autonomous administrative division. Only one candidate can be left on each of the voting papers and the others must be crossed out. If the names of more than one candidate are left on the voting paper the election commission will deem such a voting paper invalid. Of course, no one is obliged to vote "for" anyone if none of the candidates inspire his trust. In this case he may strike through the names of all of them. The voting paper will be deemed valid and all candidates will receive an "against" vote.

In the Tushinskiy district of Moscow it was stated at a district election meeting that the name of a candidate must be struck through only with a straight line. Any other method of striking out will be deemed invalid. There is nothing about this in the Law on the Election. For whom and for what purpose has it been necessary to amend the law? (L. Chumak, Moscow)

[Zhdanov] No one has been given permission to change the law. If this statement was in fact made then the district commission has clearly exceeded its authority and engaged in the writing of legislation. If a voter wishes to cross out the name of a particular candidate he can do it in any way he wants. A straight line or a wavy line or anything else; it does not matter. Only one thing is important: The intention of the voter must be clearly expressed and no doubt must remain as to how he is voting. Remember the requirement of the law: It is the last name of the candidate that must be struck through.

There have always been voting booths but few people used them. It was immediately clear that anyone who went into them was casting his vote "against." In our district there is once again only one candidate. Does this mean that the situation will be repeated? (L. Karin, Rostov Oblast)

[Zhdanov] No, it does not. In accordance with the Law on the Election the ballot boxes are set up in such a way that the voters must pass through the voting booths or a room set aside for secret voting. The district commission should permit no exceptions here.

Since there are alternative candidates in most districts in this present election it may perhaps turn out that in many of them no candidate will collect the necessary number of votes. What will happen then? (S. Silchenko, Kharkov).

[Zhdanov] Several scenarios are possible here. If no more than two candidates are running in a particular district and neither obtains the necessary number of votes, a second ballot will be scheduled for that district. In other words, candidates will again be nominated and discussed using the procedure as established by the law. These elections must take place no later than 2 months later than the main elections.

The procedure is somewhat different in districts in which three or more candidates are running and none is elected. In this case the district commission will make a decision on a second runoff election for the two candidates receiving the most votes. This voting should take place within 2 weeks. The candidate elected will be the one who receives the greater number of votes relative to the other.

I would like to draw the attention of readers to yet another special feature here. At these present elections the winning candidate will be the one who receives more than half of the votes of voters who have participated in the elections (previously this majority was determined relative to all votes in a district). But here due consideration must be given to the fact that at least half of the electorate must take part in the voting. Otherwise the elections will be declared invalid and they will have to be repeated. Accordingly, if you are about to leave your city or settlement do not forget to obtain your certificate of right to vote from the election district. This will enable you to take part in the voting where you are staying.

And so, on 26 March from 0700 hours to 2000 hours local time the polling booths will be expecting you.

Consumer Cooperatives Congress Proceedings Reported
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[TASS report: "Based on Revival of Lenin's Principles. 12th Congress of USSR Consumer Cooperatives"]

[Text] The USSR consumer cooperatives has been assigned an enormous role in the pursuit of an effective agrarian policy, whose implementation will make it possible to solve the task of the country's stable food supplies.

This major socioeconomic organization unites about 60 million shareholders [payshchik] within its ranks. The labor and daily life of millions of rural residents depend largely on its trade, procurement, and production activities.

The CPSU perceives the development of consumer cooperatives on democratic principles as an important element of restructuring and of Soviet society's qualitative renewal. The Tsentrsoyuz [Central Union of Consumer Societies] and local consumer cooperative unions and societies have great opportunities as regards organizing modern services and solving the tasks of swiftly building up food resources in order to improve supplies for residents in the countryside, cities, and industrial centers.

Delegates and guests welcomed with applause Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, A.P. Biryukova, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov.

The presidium also included B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; senior CPSU Central Committee officials; leaders of ministries and departments; and front-rankers from consumer cooperatives and agriculture.

The congress is attended by guests from abroad representing cooperative organizations from many countries, the International Cooperative Alliance, and the International Labor Organization.

The agenda of the congress' work was approved. Delegates would hear and discuss a report on the Tsentrsoyuz Board's work and the tasks for further development of USSR consumer cooperatives in the light of decisions by the 27th party congress, subsequent CPSU Central

Committee plenums, the 19th all-union party conference, and a report by the Tsentsosoyuz Auditing Commission; would adopt model statutes of cooperative organizations and the Tsentsosoyuz; and would elect USSR people's deputies and the Tsentsosoyuz Council and Auditing Commission.

The floor was given to Tsentsosoyuz Board Chairman P.S. Fedirko, who delivered the report.

He emphasized that the fundamental question now facing the consumer cooperatives is the revival of genuinely cooperative democratic foundations of the activity of this multisectorial system and its active involvement in the country's restructuring processes.

The 27th party congress, having focused all economic and social policy on man and all his requirements and needs, pointed out the need to extensively utilize the cooperative system in the production and processing of output and in the sphere of services and trade. The 19th all-union party conference confirmed the course of boosting the cooperative movement which offers great opportunities for solving society's vitally important problems. The adoption of the Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR" provided a powerful incentive for the system's development. The cooperative system's expansion is an inseparable part of the overall movement for revival of Lenin's image of socialism.

We all know the great importance V.I. Lenin attached to the development of the cooperative system. He emphasized that "the consumer cooperatives must also be supported and developed" and perceived success in its work as lying in the ability "to gather dissipated commodity assets together and to create new ones" and to be "a genuinely commercial rather than bureaucratic organ." These ideas were practically embodied in the consumer cooperatives' activity in the twenties, when their network handled the marketing of the bulk of basic consumer commodities, supplied peasants with machines, agricultural implements, and seeds, and conducted tremendous cultural and enlightenment work among the population.

But the actual idea of the cooperative system started being flouted in the conditions when edict methods of management intensified and the democratic foundations of society's life were narrowed, while its role was diminished and reduced to a strictly secondary and subsidiary level. The consumer cooperatives ended up being taken over by the state and bureaucratized. It came under the influence of rigidly centralized plans, instructions, and limits. The habit of working according to orders led to the detachment of cooperative organs from the broad mass of shareholders whose social creativity actually brought the consumer cooperatives into being.

The CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum decisions on agrarian questions, the speaker noted, demand energetic actions. The consumer cooperatives

are called upon to significantly boost their contribution to the countryside's social development, to become reliable partners of kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms], lessees, cooperatives, peasants' farms, and citizens' personal subsidiary plots.

Speaking about the results of work during the period under review, the speaker admitted that the system's tremendous potential is far from fully utilized. There are serious shortcomings and omissions in the system's activity. In addition to the shortages of commodities, shortcomings in the organization of trade also have a negative effect on supplies for the population. There is inadequate assimilation of resources from citizens' personal subsidiary plots, and the opportunities for developing consumer goods production are not fully utilized. The material and technical is extremely underdeveloped. In brief, radical restructuring is long overdue and the congress must become a watershed in its implementation.

The speaker singled out the revival of democratic foundations and the enhancement of the standards of organizational-cooperative work as the key element.

A sociological study of a sizeable group of shareholders, conducted by the Tsentsosoyuz on the eve of the report and election campaign in different regions of the country, showed that one-fourth of those polled had not attended a single meeting in the last 3 years as a result of insufficient publicity and lack of proper interest. Only one-half of shareholders are familiar with their statutory rights, while an even smaller proportion actually exercise them. Newly created rural consumer societies by no means always ensure sufficient efficiency in their work. Organizational changes are frequently introduced mechanically and are not accompanied by enhanced activeness by shareholders or improved services for them. All this testifies to the need for fundamental improvement of organizational-cooperative work.

It is necessary to create all conditions for genuinely reviving shareholders' interest in the consumer societies' work and really ensuring a broad system of advantages for them. It is necessary to make extensive use of the multifaceted forms of cooperative ownership, to consolidate the economic base, and to develop new-style production cells within the consumer societies' structure—rural procurement and processing cooperatives [selkoopzagotpromy] and sundry other cooperatives and enterprises. They must ensure the widespread development of lease relations, family and collective contracts, and other progressive labor organization forms. Consumer societies will thus become the "cooperatives' cooperatives."

The most important avenues for reviving the democratic foundations of consumer cooperatives' activity are reflected in the draft new model statutes of consumer societies and consumer cooperatives unions at all levels and the Tsentsosoyuz Statute, which have been submitted for ratification by the congress. The speaker drew

attention to the basic ideas of these documents, which embody the spirit of restructuring and the most important provisions of the Law on the Cooperative System.

A large part of the report was devoted to an analysis of the consumer cooperatives' role in the social reorganization of the countryside and the active development and improvement of trade, procurement, and processing activity there.

He named cooperative organizations which have managed, with support from local soviets, to organize good trade services for rural residents. On the whole, however, trade standards are far below set requirements. Rural residents are forced to travel to the cities for many commodities. The more complex situation prevailing in the consumer market has a particularly negative effect on supplies for rural working people.

Having admitted that the Tsentsosoyuz is not strong enough in defending the system's positions and does not utilize the opportunities provided by interrepublic trade turnover and the efficient development of wholesale and mail order trade, the speaker also called on the country's Ministry of Trade, Gosstab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], Ministry of Light Industry, and other ministries and departments to take all measures within their power to more fully satisfy the rural population's demands. He singled out in particular the problem of shaping a new commodity market for personal subsidiary plots and lessees.

The speaker dwelled in detail on the development of public catering, the expansion of cooperative trade in cities, and the creation of a sphere of paid trade and consumer services, municipal, repairs, transportation, and other services in the countryside.

In the conditions of radical restructuring of economic relations within the country's agro-industrial complex, the speaker noted, there will also be a substantial change in the forms of procurement organization. The main point now, in parallel with the further strengthening of ties with kolkhozes and sovkhozes, is to make utmost use of the opportunities to expand produce purchases from citizens' personal subsidiary plots, orcharding and truck gardening partnerships, lessees, and working peasants' farms. The main way to achieve this lies through mobile economic cells located as close as possible to the population—rural procurement and processing cooperatives which must properly take on the functions of purchasing on long-term contractual basis everything that farms produce, organizing the basic processing of produce on the spot, marketing it, and offering sundry services to the population. At least 26,000 such formations are due to be created in the next few years.

Industrial enterprises manufacturing food and nonfood commodities have an important role to play in boosting the consumer cooperatives' contribution to the country's commodity resources. Priority is now given to small and

medium capacity shops and smaller enterprises sited as near as possible to raw material sources and consumers. Rural residents must have an opportunity to buy locally fresh bread, ordinary confectionery products, sausages and cured meats, and fresh and processed fruit and vegetables.

Going on to touch on questions of the deepening of economic reform and the enhancement of economic management efficiency, the speaker pointed out that their solution is largely faltering in the consumer cooperatives system. There are great difficulties in really handing over power to the basic link—the rural consumer society. The old stereotype thinking is still alive. There is still a strong desire by unions, including the Tsentsosoyuz, to treat consumer societies from positions of "higher-ranking organizations" and to impose their will on them. At the same time, consumer societies themselves are not always prepared to work in the new fashion or to exercise the rights vested in them. Leasing and internal economic accountability, coupled with the utilization of diverse cooperative forms, are still not widespread.

Special sections of the report dealt with utilization of the achievements by scientific and technical progress, consolidation of the Potreboyuz [Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives] material and technical base, the development of international trade and economic cooperation between cooperative members, and measures to improve cadre work. It was noted that the potential of collectives themselves must be more fully utilized in the social orientation of consumer cooperatives' development, allocating larger amounts for loans for the construction of individual homes, building rural stores and procurement stations with apartments for sales and procurement personnel, and engaging more actively in the construction of facilities for social, cultural, and consumer service purposes on a shared basis with kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other rural organizations.

P.S. Fedirko said in conclusion:

In essence, we are only now beginning to work in the new fashion, operating in conformity with the Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR," but there is no time to be wasted. We need real practical deeds right away.

The congress will elect USSR people's deputies from the consumer cooperatives. This will enhance our system's role further still, and will create new incentives for fundamental improvement of its activity.

The CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum and its decisions confirm that restructuring is founded on onward drive toward new heights, toward a humane image of socialism. There is persistent affirmation of the social orientation of national economic development, of it being geared to satisfying Soviet people's vitality

important requirements. Let the USSR consumer cooperatives unfold their creative energy even more widely; let them develop initiative and enterprise; let them make a noticeable contribution to the cause of restructuring for our people's benefit.

The report of the Tsentrosoyuz Auditing Commission was delivered by its Chairman V.A. Gudim.

During the period under review, he said, the commission concentrated its efforts on enhancing and improving control and auditing work and on its restructuring. For this purpose, it elaborated and approved at its session measures aimed at more fruitful work, at ensuring that audits and inspections not only bring existing shortcomings and violations to light but also—and this is the main point—actively assist in their elimination and help to improve the activity of organizations being inspected.

There has been more glasnost in the conduct of audits and inspections, and their results are widely discussed by collectives. With a view to preventing duplication of work, the commission coordinated its activity with the Tsentrosoyuz Party Committee and people's control committee. Periodically it visited and gave practical assistance to Potrebsoyuz and grassroots-level auditing commissions.

During the period under review the Auditing Commission itself conducted 120 comprehensive audits of some of the largest organizations and enterprises, and 68 inspections in the Tsentrosoyuz apparatus and system as regards the monitoring of execution, the safeguarding of socialist property, the efficiency of official travel, the work with working people's letters, and other matters. The Tsentrosoyuz Board and the leaders of most organizations responded promptly and in a businesslike fashion to the Auditing Commission's remarks and suggestions.

At the same time, the report noted, and proceeding from the results of recent audits and inspections conducted by the commission, it must be said that returns could have been much greater had the process of restructuring been implemented more actively. So far, restructuring has been progressing only slowly in many Tsentrosoyuz subdivisions and few measures are being taken to fundamentally improve the style and methods of work. There is an especially painful process of transition from the administrative edict methods, rooted for years in the activity of the Tsentrosoyuz Board and its apparatus, to economic methods of management and provision, or more effective practical assistance to Potrebsoyuz organizations in improving the organization of work by the multisectorial cooperative system, especially at grassroots level—whose accurate and well organized work largely determines the fate of restructuring and the successful activity of the entire consumer cooperative system.

In many instances the Auditing Commission failed to display due persistence and principledness as regards the elimination of shortcomings that had come to light and the implementation of its suggestions. There was not always proper monitoring of the fulfillment of resolutions on the results of audits and inspections. Some of them were not implemented to sufficiently high quality standards. There were instances of delays in examining audit and inspection materials at sessions of the commission or the Tsentrosoyuz Board.

It was recommended that the newly elected Auditing Commission should persevere in the restructuring and improvement of control and auditing work, should actively assist in improving the activity of the Tsentrosoyuz apparatus and system, and should influence the successful solution of the major tasks assigned to consumer cooperatives by the party and the government as regards improving services for the population and enhancing Soviet people's prosperity.

The congress then began debating the reports.

The debate was opened by O.V. Zavizion, chairman of the Staroderevyankovskoye Rural Consumer Cooperative Board under Krasnodar Kray's Kanevskiy Rayon Potrebsoyuz. She emphasized that Soviet people expect cooperative members to implement radical changes in services for the population and to fully satisfy the needs for commodities and sundry services. This is also the target set for rural working people by the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum.

Using specific examples, the speaker illustrated the tremendous opportunities available to consumer societies and unions. The existing reserves must be efficiently utilized, but brakes are being applied on work by the lack of processing equipment and the most acute shortage of industrial commodities. The speaker addressed the leaders of central ministries and departments and asked them to face up to the needs of rural residents. The delegate devoted much attention in her speech to the need to struggle against paperwork proliferation and bureaucratism at local level.

The floor was taken by S.N. Gayduchenya, procurement officer of Kirovograd Oblast's Maloviskovskiy Rayon Consumer Cooperative. He described his meetings with voters in his capacity as candidate USSR people's deputy from the consumer cooperatives, which convinced him that trade is one of the most complex social problems in the countryside, especially trade in foodstuffs. By gradually destroying the small-scale peasant industry, the speaker declared, we taught the rural dweller to satisfy his demands mainly in stores. The delegate criticized the prevailing system of gigantomania in procurement activity. The countryside has full opportunities to develop its

own base of small-scale enterprises to process raw materials into finished products. The system does have experience in this work but, unfortunately, the material and technical base suitable for its widespread application is lacking.

We cooperative members are in solidarity with the party's agrarian policy and the strategic course for renewing the countryside's life which was elaborated at the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum, V.F. Yermakov, chairman of the RSFSR Potrebsoyuz Board, said. It is necessary to overcome as soon as possible the countryside's lagging in socioeconomic development. The consumer cooperatives are called upon to play a major role in this work.

Recently, however, and due to wrong interpretations of the Law on the Cooperative System, they have turned into some sort of appendage of state trade, the speaker believes. In his opinion, this is having an acute effect on the distribution of commodity resources. Just as before, rural dwellers are forced to travel to the cities for commodities and products. This "order" is incompatible with social justice.

Bureaucratic arbitrariness continues to impoverish the already meager rural stores. We need, the speaker said, a most rigid parity in the exchange of food and industrial commodities. It is necessary to impose order in the system of prices for many commodities sold in the countryside.

The consolidation of the material base was described as one of the paramount tasks whose solution will determine the recreation of consumer cooperatives on a modern scientific and technical basis. So far, enterprises are short of many types of equipment. Hundreds of processing shops already constructed are standing idle because of this.

Specifically, the speaker submitted a proposal addressed to the USSR Council of Ministers—to acquire abroad a consignment of small capacity canning enterprises. Such plants and shops, he said, will quickly pay for themselves and will make it possible to ease the acuteness of the food problem in many regions.

S.Zh. Syranova, chairman of Alma-Ata Oblast's Talgar City Consumer Cooperative, spoke about the shortages of premises, equipment, and tools in the consumer cooperative system. Cooperatives' demands are met under the classification "Others" when the Gosplan allocates equipment. Pointing out the poor quality of consumer goods supplied to consumer cooperatives, the delegates made the suggestion that suppliers should be paid only after the goods have been sold, and also recommended the introduction of standard prices for agricultural produce. The speech gave much attention to the questions of exercising the rights enshrined in the Law on the Cooperative System. Unfortunately, many of them have merely remained on paper. Like the provision

about autonomous distribution of own profits, for example. The speaker expressed the hope that the USSR people's deputies elected by the congress will actively uphold the interests of consumer cooperatives.

First of all it is necessary to give some thought to enhancing the role of the Tsentsosoyuz as a representative organ called upon to express and uphold the interests of the multimillion-strong army of shareholders, S.V. Litvinenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Potrebsoyuz Board, said in his speech. Tangible and specific assistance in solving the problems which obstruct the development of our multisectorial activity instead of directives and edicts—this is what is needed by specialists in all consumer cooperative links. So far, however, there have not been many signs of an active stance. And in many instances the mistakes which are committed only complicate work at local level.

By way of an example, the speaker cited the question of imperfections in the system for commodity resources distribution as approved by the Tsentsosoyuz. The Ministry of Trade and its local organs have become monopoly masters of resources, while consumer cooperatives have lost their role in shaping the products range, their influence on industry, and their commercial autonomy altogether.

Mistakes have also been committed in the development of the consumer cooperatives' material and technical base. The availability of transportation and equipment for public catering and trade enterprises is at an extremely low level. There were instances when cooperative members could not open their store because they had no counter scales. The renewal of the consumer cooperatives' motor vehicles pool, like in no other department, runs at 1-1.5 percent annually, and at this rate it will take 50 years before the motor vehicles pool is renewed.

A serious review is needed, in the speaker's opinion, of the questions concerning taxation of consumer cooperative enterprises, mutual relations with kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and the practice of foreign economic activity.

Describing the existing work experience, G.P. Ostanin, chairman of Krasnoyarsk Kray's Karatuzskiy Rayon Potrebsoyuz Board, focused attention mainly on unsolved problems. The development of consumer cooperatives and the improvement of trade and production activity, he said, are hindered by the shortages of equipment, materials, spares, and fuel. This can be felt in particular in more distant rural regions. Rural dwellers have many complaints about the trade in foodstuffs and the high prices charged for them. For example, cooperative stores are virtually inaccessible for rural pensioners who receive only small subsidies. The speaker noted that the consumer cooperatives must improve their acquisition of stocks. They are "trimmed" every year, and the commodities destined for the countryside stay behind in the cities.

T.B. Chibayev, chairman of the Kirghiz Potrebsoyuz Board, dwelled on the problems whose solution, in his opinion, will determine the further development of consumer cooperatives. The first and foremost of these problems is the notorious imbalance between consumer demand and supply. Many commodities are in short supply. The speaker urged that the USSR Gosplan leadership should provide an intelligible answer as to how and when the questions of satisfying the population's needs will be resolved. He also drew attention to the question of retail prices, which is a serious worry for the rural population. These prices are often unrelated to the consumer qualities of modern goods. Meanwhile, the Tsentrosoyuz does not make full use of its power to reliably protect the interests of rural purchasers. In the speaker's opinion, it would be expedient in this context to look into the question of the continued existence of the USSR State Committee for Prices, since this department cannot cope with its basic function—ensuring fair price formation.

The consumer cooperatives are called upon to solve the most acute questions perturbing all Soviet people, V.G. Ronshin, secretary of the Volgograd party obkom, said.

He focused attention especially on questions of boosting the prestige of working people in an important sphere. Much has been done for this recently. The elections of leaders of a number of cooperative enterprises made it possible to substantially galvanize the collectives and boosted shareholders' interest on the consumer cooperatives' affairs. Much is also being done to improve working conditions for sales personnel, especially in stores in isolated and smaller villages. Consequently, there has been a noticeable decline of cadre turnover in the consumer cooperatives.

The speaker also dwelled on questions of enhancing the financial and economic autonomy of enterprises and organizations.

It is good, L.I. Kuzmenko, director of Kharkov Oblast's Krasnokutskiy Rayon Potrebsoyuz department store, said, that the congress is openly raising problems which have built up over the years. I will also say that the switch to self-financing, which we so eagerly awaited, has failed to produce the expected results. This is mainly due to shortcomings in planning. Just as before, the delegate noted, we are being crushed under the heavy heel of higher-ranking organizations. They continue as before their administrative interference.

Poor earnings by sales personnel, inadequate material and technical supplies for consumer cooperatives, hard working conditions—all this, in the speaker's opinion, diminishes the prestige of the trade worker's vocation. Get actively involved in the solution of all these problems—this is the mandate for USSR people's deputies to be elected by the congress.

The congress was then addressed by G.Z. Grishchenkov, chairman of the Belorussian Potrebsoyuz Board; M.P. Bite, chairman of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Balvskiy Rayon Consumer Cooperative Board; V.A. Pyatkyavichyus, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Kedaynskiy Rayon's "Krakay" Kolkhoz; K.A. Melnik, chairman of the Moldavian Potrebsoyuz Board; and U.Z. Nurmatov, director of Tashkent Oblast's Tashkentskiy Rayon Potrebsoyuz Poultry Factory.

Lars Marcus, president of the International Cooperative Alliance, greeted the congress delegates.

The Mandates Commission report was delivered by its Chairman S.M. Kuzmichev.

The congress will continue its work 21 March.

Maslyukov Explains Draft Law on Republic Economies
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[News conference with Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Stefan Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee; Aleksandr Smirnov, head of territorial development within Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs; mediated by Lev Voznesenskiy; date, place not given]

[Text] [Voznesenskiy] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, we would like to discuss with you the draft of a most fundamental document which, when implemented, is intended to play a very serious role in the realization of all our plans, relating first and foremost with restructuring the management of the economy. The ideas enshrined in this document concern, however, not only the sphere of the economy; they also go far beyond its bounds, penetrating the sphere of politics, social relations and so forth. The draft in question is the draft general principles, the restructuring of the management of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics, on the basis of extension of their sovereign rights, self-management and self-financing.

Taking part in this meeting with you are: Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the country's Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], chairman of the commission set up by the USSR Council of Ministers to draw up the draft general principles; Stefan Aramayovich Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of USSR Gosplan, academician, director of the working group of the commission set up to draw up the draft general principles; and Aleksandr Ivanovich Smirnov, head of the department of Territorial Development of the National Economy and Capital Construction of the USSR Council of Ministers

Administration of Affairs, and member of the aforementioned commission. [video shows news conference in progress, platform panel: from left to right, Smirnov, Maslyukov, Voznesenskiy, Sitaryan]

[Maslyukov] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen! Esteemed comrades! A week ago the general principles which Lev Aleksandrovich has just mentioned were published for nationwide discussion. Why had the need arisen for this document to be drawn up, published, and then discussed on a nationwide basis? At a particular stage in the development of the Soviet Union a substantial distortion of the rights of the union republics occurred, with many of their functions being assumed by the central authorities. The upshot of this was that the diktat of the union ministries and official departments intensified. This bureaucratic approach toward deploying productive forces and the absence of any integrated mechanism to control the territorial development of the republics and territories led to the emergence of serious imbalances between the productive forces and the social sphere in the union republics, and all this brought about a decline in the responsibility and interest shown by the republics and regions in the final results of their economic activity and also of that of the enterprises sited on their territory, which is the main point.

This problem shows up particularly starkly against a background in which the basic link of economic management—state enterprises and cooperative organizations—today has very great rights and great autonomy. The whole of this work is proceeding in indissoluble conjunction with the reform of the political system that is being carried through and the revival of the sovereignty of the local soviets. It is a part of the revolutionary renovation that Soviet society is going through following the decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th all-union party conference.

How were these documents and general principles drawn up? I should say that, for perhaps the first time in our experience, it was a truly democratic process of discussion; a commission was set up, and all concerned parties participated in it. It was decided that the commission should be composed of the first deputy chairmen of the councils of ministers of the union republics, and it was proposed that I should be in charge of this work on behalf of the central authorities. Furthermore, the commission comprised representatives from our academic world—legal scholars and economic scholars. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions played an active part in the commission's work.

These principles were examined at many of our current fora, such as the economic council and a joint session of the economics and legal departments of the Academy of Sciences. For almost a month—albeit with short breaks—this commission was under house arrest, so to speak, and was engaged in the actual drafting of these principles. Moreover, the work started with each republic setting out its approaches and its views on this most

important matter. Then in hard-hitting discussions—please don't be concerned, for nobody was injured or killed—but in hard-hitting discussions these principles were thrashed out. Every line in the principles formed a topic for discussion and a topic for debate, but these are consensus principles and now we have put them up for nationwide discussion. We attach very great importance to how it proceeds, because these principles and the outcome of the discussion of them will form the basis of the law on this issue.

I would like to say that there were three basic groups of questions for discussion. The first group of questions included delimiting the powers of the central authorities and the union republics. The second group of questions dealt with the radical restructuring of the conditions underlying the organization of the budgets of the union republics. The third group of questions, and the group which saw the most heated debate, concerned the reorganization of the philosophy and the technical aspects of planning, material, and technical provision, capital construction and control of scientific and technological progress, particularly in the field of labor and social development in the republics, and also issues relating to the foreign economic activity of the regions and republics. Moreover, one of the most important matters was, of course, that of environmental protection and the tapping of nature.

What you have read really is the fruit of our combined labors. Thank you for your attention.

[Voznesenskiy] Well, let us move to your questions, then. Go ahead.

[Correspondent] DAGENS INDUSTRI newspaper. Two questions on the developments in the Baltic republics. We are aware that in Estonia, for instance, a similar conception is being drawn up, on the republic transferring to full financial autonomy and so on and so forth. This conception, however, goes very much further than what is being proposed in your draft here. Could you say how these two conceptions will be combined in the future?

[Sitaryan] In his introductory address Yuriy Dmitriyevich said that when we sat down at the table each republic expounded its views upon and understanding of this problem. Of course Estonia—and not only Estonia but Latvia, Lithuania, all the republics, Belorussia, Kirghizia, Kazakhstan—put forward their own principles and their own approaches to regional financial autonomy, as this subject is sometimes called. Everyone, that is, had his own package of ideas. To put it briefly, then one may put it like this: this document indisputably reflects the approaches of all the republics, including those of the Baltic republics. This document, however, does not reproduce word for word, of course, the documents which were drawn up in the republics. A great deal of that, though, has been taken into account and embodied here. That is how I would reply, in brief.

[Smirnov] Lev Aleksandrovich [Voznesenskiy], may I just add something here, referring to the general principles which have been published. It is specially specified here that the republics will be granted the right to introduce certain addenda and more precise definitions to these principles, or to the law that will embody these principles; with one proviso, of course: that nothing contradicts the general tenets. Everything concerning the specific features of a republic may in one way or another find reflection in the republic's own normative acts. This is permitted, and furthermore we are counting on this.

[Correspondent in English, with superimposed Russian translation] A question from THE NEW YORK TIMES. Could you perhaps take a hypothetical look at how you envisage the links between the central and republican authorities and the central and republican enterprises? For example, if the republican authorities consider that an enterprise is polluting the environment, can they close that enterprise, can they impose additional taxes on it? What do you think, how great will be the powers of the local authorities in this regard?

[Maslyukov] Major enterprises will remain under the jurisdiction of the center, but the republics have been given very wide rights, from the point of view of controlling exploitation of the natural environment, with regard to such enterprises, that is. In the first place, the fundamentals and all maximum permitted norms of environmental pollution are laid down by the republics, not by the central organs, even in the case of enterprises that are subordinate to the center. Second, charges have been introduced for utilization of natural resources, (in these) general principles, including charges for water and charges for environmental conservation.

[Correspondent, in English, with superimposed Russian translation] A question from BUSINESS WEEK magazine. Did you think, or do you fear that granting the republics greater economic rights will lead to there being a disproportion in growth?

[Maslyukov] We are not afraid of any such disbalance in growth emerging. In determining the principles of forming the budgets of the union republics and the center, we have anticipated that such a disbalance does exist today, and that it is necessary to level it out in the future. This will all be regulated with the assistance of the programs drawn up by the center; and for this, a special fund will be set up in the state budget.

[THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent] A second question, continuing the subject of the Baltic republics: You know that some Baltic republics are considering the possibility of creating their own monetary systems, the principle here being that they want free trade with foreign states on the basis of convertible currency. Does this contradict the principle of this draft, or is it realistic?

[Sitaryan] Naturally, when we were working on this document we also considered the suggestion that individual republics should create their own individual or special currencies. After comprehensive discussion, that suggestion, that view was not shared by most of the commission members and was not adopted, for the following reasons. First, we proceed from the assumption that the extension of the republics' rights and the democratization of the administration process must not result in the strengthening of autarkic principles in our economic development. The existence of isolated currencies in each of the union republics with their own exchange peculiarities and so on would not facilitate integration, nor would it facilitate the intensification of the division of labor or the cultivation of more normal economic relations. It might, on the contrary, restrain that process. On the basis of these considerations the idea was rejected. As we see things, we ought to tackle the problem of ruble convertibility—and we are assuming that sooner or later this problem of ours has to be solved—not by creating isolated currencies in the republics, but by further developing commodity-money relations and forming a single all-union market, thereby placing the ruble on a convertible basis. Especially, I might just add, since this whole problem is actually a question of pricesetting, because one cannot make the state of a currency, or its exchange, or detach the exchange aspect of that currency from the country's overall pricesetting system. It was difficult to envision isolating the price system, having some kind of autonomous price system for different goods in each of the republics.

[Maslyukov] Incidentally, I took a note of the second part of your question about being able to trade with a freely convertible currency. This aspect is brought out in the principles; there is nothing to prohibit any of the republics having their own access and their own trade in freely convertible currency; to the contrary, they are permitted to do so. So that there is absolutely no connection here between having a national currency and trading in freely convertible currency.

[Unidentified correspondent] The draft guidelines for restructuring the administration of the republican economies have been published. Is there to be a corresponding restructuring in the administration of lower-level economies: the oblasts, cities, and so on? My second question is a more specific one: We know that some economists and practical workers are proposing that the relationship between the republican and union budgets be based on the payment of a common tax from the republican to the union budget for a specific period.

[Smirnov] Well, in effect, you are begging the question. There is no denying that all the action takes place at the local level, the real action, and therefore the restructuring of territorial administration cannot be limited to a change in the relationship between the center, the union, on the one hand, and the republics on the other. We cannot limit ourselves just to the union republic level; we

definitely have to go down to the local level and give the local soviets as much power as possible, while allowing for the development of self-management, the enhancement of the role played by the public, labor collectives and so on.

[Voznesenskiy, to Sitaryan] Would you like to handle the second question?

[Sitaryan] Well, it is perfectly clear that one of the key issues in the idea of republican self-financing is the budget-formation system in the union republics. For that reason it was discussed and considered very widely both by our Estonian comrades and others. At first sight the plan looks very simple and convincing: income is collected at the local level and handed over to higher-level bodies. First, above all, we had to decide at what level this income collection should start—the rayon, the oblast, or the republic where there are no oblast divisions, and so on. So we had to set up this pyramid, but when we began building it, we all reached the conclusion that while the plan is outwardly simple and apparently convincing, it is fraught with a whole range of methodological and economic weaknesses, so to speak. These, first of all, place the budgets at different levels in an unequal position: the primary budget is at an advantage.

Second, it was not clear to us, and even to our Estonian comrades, though they propose several options, what principle and criterion should be used to transfer resources from the lower-level budget to the higher-level budget. How is this to be organized? Third, under this plan the union budget virtually loses its entire financial basis. Indeed, this union budget, which bears a whole range of major items of expenditure, is, I would say, not even economically, but fiscally, directly dependent on the behavior of the lower-level budgets. Other options were also considered: there was the option of strictly attaching individual kinds of income to the union budget and others to the republic budgets. This was an attractive option, but, once again, when we all began working it through together, it put the republics in extremely unequal conditions. Some republics had considerable financial resources, while others became subsidy recipients.

The main thing, however, is that in this document there is a fundamental change in the ideology of republican budget formation and here this approach is in line with everyone's stances, from the Baltic republics to the Central Asian republics. This is now all being placed on a strictly normative foundation; from 1991 each republic will know what its income will be for the next 5 years and what it can build, develop, and so on, using that income. So there is a radical change in the actual ideology and procedure of budget formation.

[Maslyukov] I would like to thank you for your attention, and to say that these principles have been endorsed by all the union republics. Are they final? No, they are not final; as the market develops, as the price formation

reform is carried out, as the principles of economic reform become deeper, including the implementation of the taxation system, based upon value added taxation, of course, these principles will become deeper. At the same time, all the republics, even today, will manage their own republic in the sphere of their agriculture, in the sphere of light industry, in the sphere of industry relating to people, in the sphere of capital construction, in the sphere of local utilities, starting from when this law is adopted. Before this law comes into force, we consider it possible for some republics to start trying out individual principles—those with which they are in agreement—starting from 1990. Thank you for your attention.

[Voznesenskiy] All the best!

Republics' Budget Formation Principles Outlined
LD2203141389 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT
22 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—"Budget-formation is being transferred in all the constituent republics of the USSR to a strictly normative basis, meaning that each republic should know the size of its revenues five years in advance. This is envisaged in the document on basic principles for restructuring economic and social management in the union republics, published in the Soviet press for public discussion", it was pointed out by Academician Stefan Sitaryan, first vice-chairman of the State Planning Committee of the USSR, who addressed a briefing today at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

According to previous practices, budget spendings of every republic were first determined for the coming quinquennium and then the revenues were fixed accordingly. This method gave rise to "parasitic tendencies and sharply lowered the interest of republics in making money", Academician Sitaryan noted. "Now every republic will know the size of its revenues and that it is free to build or develop its economy conformingly". Such an approach was approved by all the republics, despite the different points of view they advocated during the documents' elaboration.

"All the proposed versions were reckoned with during the discussion of the main budget-formation principles", Stefan Sitaryan said. "Estonia's proposal to adopt a phased collection of revenues was turned down. According to it, regional authorities were to draw revenues from districts, republican authorities—from regions, and central authorities—from the republics. Though the system seemed simple enough at first glance, it had several minuses, because it placed different-level budgets on an uneven footing", he noted. "Moreover, the USSR budget would in this case lose its independent financial basis and would be made dependent on republican budgets".

According to the pattern, published for nation-wide discussion, each republic will know the sources of its revenues, which will be used for making up its budget.

They include the income tax, imposed on the population and cooperatives, land rent and a definite share of profits made by enterprises. All spendings on the economic development of a republic will be made from its budget. "At the same time, the republics are granted the right to make additional financial contributions to all-union projects", Academician Sitaryan said. "For instance, alongside with the single pensions system for the whole of the USSR, every republic has the right to fix allowances for its pensioners over and above the all-union level".

Lithuanian Leader on 'Normal Life' in Republic
*LD2403115889 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT
24 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—"The republic is living a normal life", Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, noted today in an interview to the weekly "ARGUMENTS AND FACTS". He said that people were busy at their work-places in spite of ongoing debates, but acknowledged that the republic was somewhat "carried away by politics".

Algirdas Brazauskas noted that the Communist Party of Lithuania regarded public movements positively, whenever they had common goals with it. This is the main principle, he stressed. The Communist Party of Lithuania has many such common goals with "Sajudis" and with other organisations. They include the republic's sovereignty and economic independence, preparation of a draft constitution, problems of social welfare and improvement of public education, ecology, protection of the environment and of cultural monuments.

Lithuania's party leadership interprets the republic's sovereignty as a possibility to exercise economic independence, to go over to republican cost-accounting and self-financing. He noted that "each republic has its own specific features, typical for it alone. We have adhered and shall go on adhering to the general party line in Lithuania, but we have, of course, our own local goals. Many of our Communists have come out with proposals to draw up the Lithuanian Communist Party's own programme, proceeding from the currently prevailing situation. Well, the level of the Lithuanian Communist Party's independence is now on the order of the day. We have transmitted our proposals on this score to the CPSU Central Committee and to the forthcoming plenary meeting of the Central Committee on the nationalities problem. I believe they will be discussed".

"There are problems, many problems to be solved", Algirdas Brazauskas said, "and we are working in this direction. There is every chance to consolidate all the forces wishing to carry out perestroika in the republic. And this is not only my opinion, but the opinion of most of our people".

Latvia's Vagris Comments on Republic Issues
*PM2303142189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA
in Russian 14 Mar 89 pp 1-2*

[LATINFORM report on interview with Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, by commentator A. Neymanis and Latvian television viewers on 10 March on the Latvian television program "Frankly Speaking": "Situation in the Republic: Viewpoints, Assessments, Conclusions"]

[Text] Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke on 10 March on the Latvian television program "Frankly Speaking." He answered questions put by commentator A. Neymanis, who presents the program, and by television viewers. Ya. Vagris expressed his attitude toward the recent initiatives and actions of various public forces and gave his interpretation of phenomena and events whose assessment the republic's public expected from the Central Committee. He spoke of the political guidelines of the Central Committee and of his own guidelines as first secretary, and recommended to Communists working in informal organizations that they act exclusively in the interests of consolidating society's healthy forces. An abridged, shorthand report of the television program is published below.

Commentator: Yan Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, is in our studio today. This meeting is being held at his initiative. The present political situation in the republic is giving rise to concern. We know that some people are confused, others have not found their position, and some seem very consistent and know what to do. So, Comrade Vagris, let's turn to the questions. There are many questions about how exactly the Central Committee and you personally assess the present situation in the republic.

Ya. Vagris: The Central Committee assesses the political situation in the republic as complex and, I should like to say in addition, as having a tendency to become aggravated. We reach this conclusion if we conduct an objective assessment and call things by name.

Commentator: In that case, how do you perceive the reasons for this aggravation?

Ya. Vagris: Of course, there are many reasons here. A whole complex of reasons. I shall not speak today about economic and social questions, whose unsatisfactory solution is affecting the political mood—the political situation in the republic. Today I should like to pay more attention to political motives. On the one hand intolerable statements are being made about withdrawing from the Soviet Union, and there are insulting attacks on our Armed Forces and the Communist Party. Here we must speak of the informal organizations, although this name is perhaps not now in keeping with reality, since they have assumed a form. For instance, the Latvian national independence movement. Of course not everyone in the

Latvian national independence movement expresses himself like this; it is above all its leaders—people who adhere to extreme views. And "Helsinki-86." That is on the one hand. On the other hand we hear representatives of the International Front who at their demonstrations and meetings deliver conservative speeches which even smack of chauvinism, who adopt resolutions of an ultimatum nature and even threaten to organize strikes. I think these are absolutely unacceptable methods. The situation is also complicated by illegal actions, for instance the arbitrary occupation of apartments in the block at number 25 Tereshkova Street. There is also the insulting of the organs of public order during their representatives' execution of official duties. Unauthorized street demonstrations are taking place frequently. All this pleases one section of the population and gives rise to tension in another, undermining the sense of security.

Commentator: Recently a number of Central Committee resolutions have also been criticizing the mass media for the aggravation of the situation. We are accused of one-sidedness. Yes, there is a certain one-sidedness in today's questions simply because so far there are few distinct viewpoints. Perhaps people will telephone us on this point during the program. But now let me describe in more detail the Latvian national independence movement which you mentioned. A great many people ask why the Central Committee plenum denounced this movement, although its program has not yet been published in full. It was adopted at the congress but in fact people have not been acquainted with it.

Ya. Vagris: Well, first of all about criticism. I think that the mass media, including television and radio, do not consider themselves a zone beyond criticism. Is that not so? That means that we have the right to make critical remarks, you about us and we about you.

I cannot agree that the bureau does not have materials which would serve as grounds for assessing the Latvian national independence movement. We know of repeated statements by the movement's leaders. By the time the plenum was held in January 1989 there were also the drafts of the program and statute. They essentially differ little from those adopted at the congress. So this information was at our disposal. Here is a letter from Andris Ozolinysh to the Central Committee on the same question: He asks who is responsible for the text of the publication which contains allegedly unjustified accusations against the Latvian national independence movement? It was a bureau decision, and the bureau bears responsibility, and that includes myself as first secretary. Will the Latvian national independence movement be given the opportunity to deny these accusations? How will freedom of the press be really guaranteed? In the newspaper PADOMJU JAUNATNE today this movement expressed its viewpoint. Obviously we must first of all analyze what has been published in PADOMJU JAUNATNE and then we will find a form for exchanging opinions and continuing discussion.

At present it does not seem expedient to conduct a special discussion with the Latvian national independence movement individually because the election struggle is taking place. Yes, a struggle; we must grow used to that word. If we were to launch a discussion today it would not be a discussion between the Communist Party and the movement but between the two candidate deputies. After all, Dobelis and I are running for the same okrug. That means it is not a suitable moment. Obviously we must embark on discussion later.

Commentator: I ask television viewers not to put questions to Comrade Vagris as a candidate deputy. He is in the studio today as first secretary of the Central Committee.

Ya. Vagris: This question is touched on by A. Ozolinysh in the letter I mentioned above: Will other candidate deputies for the 708th electoral okrug be given as much time on television as you? As Comrade Neymanis has just said, I am not using this time now as a candidate deputy.

Commentator: Returning to the Latvian national independence movement. Comrade Zaraks asks why Central Committee workers did not take part in the constituent congress of this movement; after all, party workers should be where there are people?

Ya. Vagris: There were no Central Committee workers but, as far as I know, there were workers of the Ogrskii party rayon committee (raykom) present. So we do have information about what was said there and how.

Commentator: You mentioned today's PADOMJU JAUNATNE. This issue of the newspaper publishes a note on the Latvian People's Front's attitude toward the Central Committee bureau's critical assessment of the Latvian national independence movement.

Ya. Vagris: Yes, the Latvian People's Front report claims that there are no arguments. I think the Latvian People's Front is in possession of these documents of the Latvian national independence movement. So the Latvian People's Front can analyze them for itself. But if the question is being raised, and I sense it will be raised more than once, we must find an opportunity to provide fuller information about the materials and conclusions which guided the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in making its decision. Let readers and viewers be fully informed about this movement.

Commentator: In the context, so to speak, of discussion of the Latvian national independence movement, the question arises: Why is the International Front not being condemned? Many people ask that.

Ya. Vagris: Yes, I am often asked this question. I cannot fully agree that absolutely no assessment has been given of the International Front's 23 and 25 February actions. I agree that it was not done sufficiently publicly. We

invited the International Front leadership for an official working visit, and we expressed our attitude toward the resolution they had adopted. It is true that there was no special discussion at a bureau session. But I want to voice my own personal opinion on the matter. The action of a public organization which has written in its statutes that it acknowledges the leading role of the party but which demands an end to the discussion of the law on languages and that no constructive solution be sought, but that discussion be halted, is an ultimatum. That is almost a demand to halt the activity of the supreme soviet. The most unforgivable thing in the situation today is to call for strikes, to try to intimidate us with strikes. That is categorically unacceptable and, I would say, irresponsible.

Here I must mention one more error, or something which has remained in our work from the old way. There is still not enough glasnost; we do not provide enough information for the population and rank-and-file party members about what the Central Committee is doing. For instance, the bureau makes a decision—we publish the plenum materials, we publish them, but, after all, we work every day. Information about that work does not reach the broad masses. Obviously we must have a press group or press attache to regularly inform the press, television, and radio.

Commentator: In this case you have in mind information about your attitude toward the International Front?

Ya. Vagris: Yes, that too. I have also frequently met with representatives of the Latvian People's Front, which has also remained unreported. But perhaps people should know what we are working on and how we are working so that they do not form the impression that the party apparatus is only functionaries sitting in their offices and never leaving them, afraid to stick their noses outside, as they say.

Commentator: Here I can agree with you completely. Today the situation is like this: Some decision suddenly appears, but we cannot see the development or dynamics of the situation, how the decision took shape and why it was made.

Ya. Vagris: That is right. Obviously, in preparing decisions we must shape the corresponding public opinion.

Commentator: Study it...

Ya. Vagris: Without doubt, study it. Study it and shape it. So far this is a big minus point in our work.

Commentator: It is about the style of work that viewers are asking many questions. Do you foresee the possibility of broadcasting bureau sessions?

Ya. Vagris: We will come to a solution of this question.

Commentator: Comrade Ayzbalts and others ask whether there is any foundation to the rumors that a resolution of the republic's council of ministers on halting the mechanical increase of the population is being reworked.

Ya. Vagris: First of all, about my attitude toward this resolution. I believe it is essential. But misunderstandings have arisen on several points in connection with the arbitrary occupation of the apartment block at No 25 Tereshkova Street and the strike caused by this at the No 1 housing construction combine. It is not a case of some kind of reworking or revocation. But some clauses are in need of editing or of more thorough explanation.

Commentator: The Central Committee bureau has not defined any fundamental changes, and the matter remains within the competence of the council of ministers?

Ya. Vagris: Undoubtedly, within the competence of the council of ministers. Unfortunately, we have many documents, including this resolution of the council of ministers and the Latvian republican council of trade unions, which can be interpreted in different ways. The formulations are in some ways incomplete, and then questions arise. So here it is a case of explaining.

Commentator: Once again a television viewer asks why no assessment is given of the International Front's activity and its protest against the adoption of the law on languages.

Ya. Vagris: I have already said that the International Front leadership has been told of our attitude. That the assessment was not given publicly is obviously our mistake. If there are relapses, an official assessment will undoubtedly be given.

Commentator: Your personal attitude toward the draft law on languages?

Ya. Vagris: My personal attitude is unequivocal—the Latvian language must have the status of a state language. When the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the status of the Latvian language as a state language was adopted on 6 October, I voted for this resolution. The resolution was adopted almost unanimously.

Commentator: The opinion is being voiced that discussion of the draft law on languages is one matter preventing our advance. There are proposals and specialists' conclusions. Must we become carried away by such a broad, extended discussion in all cases?

Ya. Vagris: We are often reproached for adopting laws without discussion or after an insufficiently lengthy, hasty discussion. Of course, specialists know their business, but the law on languages is also a political question and it has to do not only with Latvians but also with people of other nationalities living in our republic. The

deadline for discussion is 10 April, when all proposals will be gathered and generalized. Only after that will the deputies' permanent commissions examine the draft law and the deputies will have their final say at the session. The law on languages is historic; we do not adopt one like it every year. I think that here it is scarcely necessary to begrudge or save on time. I should like to take this opportunity to take a small dig at the mass media and specifically at television and radio. The draft law is now being discussed not entirely one-sidedly but by one section of the population. The result is that we Latvians are canvassing Latvians to agree that Latvian is essential as the state language in Latvia. The other section of the republic's population, not very accurately described as the Russian-speaking section, expresses relatively few proposals. Or, like the International Front, destructive proposals—that it should not be discussed, that it should be halted. These are not today's methods. That is why in the future television and radio could explain to the Russian-speakers why for us, as the indigenous nation, the question of language is a question of life and death. It would be a good thing if this were done by people of Russian nationality. Those of us who have a good command of Russian have no reason to be embarrassed; we must act and work with the other section of Latvia's population.

Commentator: You know, I would like to share this rebuke with the party committees....

Ya. Vagris: Rightly. But television and radio can help us to rouse some party organizations. Although this is our duty, the mass media must seek to ensure there is no misunderstanding. Recently I have often spoken to various audiences and the question of the Latvian language's status is constantly raised, especially in Russian-speaking audiences. You know that when we begin to analyze the clauses of the draft law, we often find that a person has not even read them. When we talk about the essence of the matter, his view of it changes.

Commentator: At the Riga city party conference, almost all speakers said that the city party organization is lagging behind life, behind its rhythm, by 2 weeks or a month (there were various assessments). Is the situation the same throughout the republic, in your opinion?

Ya. Vagris: That could be partly the case. This criticism must be accepted because social processes are indeed developing at such a pace that it is not exactly that we are lagging but rather that we do not always succeed in staying a step ahead. The impression that we are lagging is obviously also created in connection with the fact that there is not the necessary and full information about our activity. This has already been mentioned. Today we still do not know how to avoid paperwork, we need paper just in case. It is in our blood to wait for instructions from above. The raykoms correspondingly wait for instructions from us. Work must be assessed by the end result, not by the decisions which have been made.

If we view the situation in the republic as a whole, that is one thing, but in individual regions, in individual rayons, it is not the same. So issuing readymade formulas even in our small republic every day is impossible. We must gear ourselves toward the localities and specific conditions, and make decisions there.

Commentator: Television viewer Comrade Tselms asks why the Central Committee's position sometimes differs sharply from the people's viewpoint? Is this not connected with the party's cadres composition?

Ya. Vagris: Well, generalizing like that, talking like that about the party's disagreement with the people... Views do not coincide on all questions not only with the people but also with different groups. But I cannot agree that the party and people have different approaches.

Commentator: Here there is an entirely specific question—what is the Central Committee thinking of doing about the problems of Ventspils?

Ya. Vagris: Yes, that is a sore point. It is a matter not only for the Central Committee but mainly for the council of ministers. Of course, the Central Committee cannot stand aloof either since it is a case of people's health and the city's future. Speaking on television recently, Comrade Blazhevich, first secretary of the party city committee [gorkom], said that he was going to Moscow yet again to resolve ecological problems in the all-union departments. He is waging this struggle in earnest, and the Communist Party Central Committee fully supports him in this.

Commentator: A question from Comrade A. Grushnikov: Why are solutions of questions of ending migration and of language not taken by referendum? Then, in his opinion, there would be no incidents, no ultimatums.

Ya. Vagris: So far no law has been adopted in our republic on the procedure and conditions for holding referendums. There is a law on nationwide discussion, but not on referendums. The Constitution also enshrines this form, but so far there is no law on referendum.

Commentator: A question from Comrade Treylens: What is the attitude of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee toward the multiparty system under the conditions of socialism and specifically toward the newly created democratic alliance party in Latvia?

Ya. Vagris: Historically a one-party system has been created in our country. Today, in the period of restructuring, I think we must struggle for the consolidation of all society's healthy forces around the party and not split our society, as an end in itself, into many parties on the basis of the principle of confrontation and rivalry.

Commentator: Television viewers wonder why Comrade Kezbers has withdrawn his candidacy for the post of deputy, what is happening to him now, and who is performing his duties as secretary for ideology?

Ya. Vagris: It seems to me that Comrade Kezbers has already given a reply in his radio interview; I cannot answer for him. I can only repeat what he himself has said several times: The concurrence of circumstances was such that he himself drew the principled conclusion that he should withdraw his candidacy. And after all, Comrade Kezbers was not alone in making this decision. For instance, Raymond Pauls was also nominated in several electoral okrugs and withdrew his candidacy. Unfortunately Comrade Kezbers is currently in the hospital. He has told me that he feels better and will return to work soon. To a considerable extent he is doing his work even while he is in the hospital.

Commentator: A question on the same subject; Was pressure brought to bear on Comrade Kezbers—the questioner probably means by the Central Committee?

Ya. Vagris: Comrade Kezbers said that circumstances which did not depend on him put pressure on him. I think that he too is watching our program and if I am wrong, let him telephone. I personally brought no pressure of any kind to bear.

Commentator: How would the Central Committee and Comrade Vagris react if the Latvian People's Front were to issue an ultimatum to the republic, threatening to organize a strike?

Ya. Vagris: We would act in the same way as regards the International Front; we would try to persuade them that this is the wrong way to act, that it is unacceptable. An analogy is probably envisaged here.... But to eliminate this question of the International Front, I repeat that if there are relapses into this activity on its part, the appropriate public assessment will be given.

Commentator: Another question about the International Front. Do Comrade Vagris and the Central Committee not have a one-sided sympathy for the International Front, and are they not thus creating a tense political situation?

Ya. Vagris: No. Comrade Vagris has no one-sided sympathy, and Comrade Vagris does not have the right to sympathize with either side. The post I hold, and it is an elected one, demands objectivity, and we must work with all movements that are constructive in principle and do not reject or violate Soviet legislation and constitutional norms.

Commentator: You talk of consolidation and of working with everyone. That is obviously the Central Committee's duty. But can these two opposing forces cooperate?

Ya. Vagris: As of today, this is, frankly, a problematic question. The leadership of the two movements has become so polarized that any real consolidation right now is very problematic and perhaps impossible. But despite this our duty is to seek some ways, forms, and avenues of cooperation, because there is no other path on the course of restructuring. At the level of the labor collectives there is not the powerful antagonism which exists on the scale of the republic, for instance. That must be borne in mind, and I think that we must begin consolidation from below.

Commentator: Polarization is to a certain extent also taking place in the party organizations. What way out do you see here?

Ya. Vagris: There is a way out. Where the people are, that is where the Communists should work. That is what Lenin once said. As we know, there are Communists in the People's Front and the International Front, although that is a paradox. Members of the same party belong to different fronts, whose attitudes toward individual questions are very contradictory or opposite. That is why a Communist, whatever sociopolitical organization he may belong to, must remember that he is above all a Communist and must fulfill the CPSU statutes. That is one way the party exerts influence through its members and exercises its leading role in the organizations where they work.

Commentator: But the field of activity today is obviously still inadequate?

Ya. Vagris: The field of activity is adequate and very vast. But so far there is little activity.

Commentator: Returning to the Riga party conference. This may be my subjective opinion, but it has also been voiced by many comrades: It has to a certain extent aggravated the situation. What has in fact emerged is not political aggravation but a polarization in the ranks of the party in Riga. A question in this connection: Appeals are often heard for the Latvian People's Front to be regarded as a political party forming an alternative to the CPSU and for the Communists' membership in the Latvian People's Front therefore to be deemed inadmissible. Do you agree with this viewpoint? Many television viewers put this question.

Ya. Vagris: I do not agree that Communists cannot belong to the People's Front. That is wrong. Communists work and can work in the International Front and the People's Front. The only thing is that it is undoubtedly necessary to remember that they are Communists and are obliged to fulfill the party statutes. Last Saturday we had a meeting of party gorkom and raykom first secretaries where this question was, let us not say debated, but at least raised. In my concluding speech I said unequivocally that right now it would be a very grave error to

recall the Communists from the People's Front and the International Front. Then there would be a complete split in the party along national lines. So I disagree with that viewpoint.

Commentator: Comrade Laysuma asks whether there is any truth to the rumor that Comrade Gorbunov is going to Hungary as an ambassador.

Ya. Vagris: This is not the first time these rumors have been spread. I don't know why. It is true that no specific state was named. But there is no doubt that by virtue of his political and human qualities Comrade Gorbunov could, I think, be an ambassador, and not just to Hungary. But that is just a little joke, a bit of comic relief....

Commentator: So you are not sending him there?

Ya. Vagris: First of all, I cannot send him there because I do not have the right—we are not the ones who appoint ambassadors. And we are not interested in Comrade Gorbunov leaving our republic for somewhere.

Commentator: Thank you, but now let's continue in a more serious spirit. Here is one more question from Nina Nikiforova. Is the Communist Party Central Committee first secretary aware that Comrade Rubiks intends very soon to close all hostels in Riga?

Ya. Vagris: It is not Comrade Rubiks who intends to do this. But yes, that resolution of the republic's council of ministers, which we have already mentioned, about ending unjustified migration and regulating it does provide for a deadline—1 January 1996—by which hostels should have been gradually eliminated in Riga. So Comrade Rubiks is obliged to do this.

Commentator: Karlis Druvinsh or Druminsh, forgive me if I have the name wrong. What about social justice, if we do not allow full wages to be paid to pensioners? He himself works part-time at the Riga car building plant and does not receive the full pension. In general that is an economic question....

Ya. Vagris: It is not an economic question. It is a legal and political question. There is scope here for the activity of the deputies who are elected. I am undoubtedly in favor of a pensioner receiving in full the money he has earned.

Commentator: Now we have started talking about social justice. We have received several questions about apartment block No 25 on V. Tereshkova Street.

This incident was discussed at the Central Committee bureau and criticism was leveled there against television, perhaps not entirely objective criticism. But many viewers believe that here it is a case not of a specific apartment block but of the principles of allocating apartments as a whole. There are questions: How will matters

stand with regard to the principle for allocating apartments and will it be changed, and how, ultimately, will people who have honestly stood in line for decades be able to obtain apartments?

Ya. Vagris: Yes, we must undoubtedly change the procedure here. We must somehow optimize the question of the allocation of apartments. Because we do indeed have so many different lines that it is very hard to keep track of them and take stock. Now the republic's council of ministers, in conjunction with the Latvian republican Council of Trade Unions and the Ministry of Municipal Services, is working to change these conditions. I undoubtedly believe that thorough public monitoring of the allocation of apartments is needed. Then there will be far fewer violations of all kinds.

Commentator: So you support the idea that it would be essential to make public if not all the surnames then at least how many apartment blocks we have constructed and which executive committees [ispolkoms] have been issued apartments so that people can still do this monitoring?

Ya. Vagris: Yes, here we really do need great glasnost so that there are fewer violations. Unfortunately, today violations do exist. But there are, for instance, cases where it is impossible to follow any instructions or it is completely impossible always to live according to instructions. In these cases there should be specific arguments. If we offer proper explanations, I believe the public will understand that a particular person has to be allocated an apartment out of turn. There should be substantial justification for this.

Commentator: Comrade Kezbers has telephoned and said: "I fully associate myself with the explanation given by Comrade Vagris of my refusal to run as candidate deputy. I convey my best wishes and hope to recover soon."

Ya. Vagris: Thank you for your support. I also wish Comrade Kezbers a very speedy recovery.

Commentator: One more question concerning information. Could the party secretaries not provide more frequent information about party work and the decisions which are made? You were talking about this. And why does the Central Committee not make full use of CINA? Today's issue does not contain a word about the Central Committee. At the same time it is said that there is nowhere for it to have a say...

Ya. Vagris: Absolutely correct. We have reached the conclusion, as I have said already, that we must create a press group or introduce the post of press attache who would, for instance, provide information for CINA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA. Only LATINFORM provides information about everything, about what the Central Committee is doing. We have already mentioned this, but so far the matter has made no headway. But my

Lithuanian counterparts have informed me that every Friday, when the "Vremya" program ends, one of the Central Committee secretaries or the chairman of the council of ministers or his deputies delivers a brief report to television viewers about what the government, supreme soviet presidium, or Central Committee have done to resolve specific issues. Then they answer questions. This has already become part of their system. Unless you object, I think we will find a common language and be able to introduce the same or a similar procedure.

Commentator: We are entirely in favor. Conversely, we sometimes have certain difficulties inviting a party worker to visit us. They do not want to come.

Ya. Vagris: I understand. It is not so much that they do not want to come.... It must be said openly that party workers feel uncomfortable in front of the camera. We have no training, we are not accustomed to it, because until now there has been no special need. But today it is obviously necessary for party workers to change as well. We must become used to the camera. But this naturally depends more on us than on you. We must learn, without doubt. If we set about doing what our Lithuanian counterparts have done, then there should be feedback. I shall not have time to answer today all the questions put over the telephone. But if there is a system, then over the week not many of these questions will pile up.

Commentator: I take you at your word.

Ya. Vagris: I agree.

Commentator: Does it not seem to Comrade Vagris that the party has lost its leading role and that now the Latvian People's Front is closer to the people and more popular with them?

Ya. Vagris: I do not believe that it has lost its leading role. But it is natural that the self-criticism on which the party has deliberately embarked in beginning restructuring should generate this negative assessment. Without doubt the People's Front program contains many attractive issues, many attractive points. But in my view its principles and approaches do not differ substantially from the party program or from the course of the 19th party conference, and if it is a case of restoring the party's prestige, then it must be raised by specific deeds by the Communists and party organizations. I shall also voice my own opinion. We should not stress that we have achieved nothing and done nothing. We must take into account the fact that socialism today is not as Lenin intended. It has been deformed at all periods of its development. We are now trying to eliminate the deformities and utilize socialism's entire potential, and I think that in following this line we will achieve much in boosting the party's prestige!

Commentator: A little earlier you said that today party workers must know how to work both with one wing and with the other.

Ya. Vagris: Yes, but that does not mean that party workers can be unprincipled. For instance, on meeting with representatives of the People's Front I will say one thing, and on meeting with representatives of the International Front I will say another. That position is unacceptable to me. But you must be a diplomat and find the golden mean. Although we do try, we do not, unfortunately, always succeed in finding it. For instance, take the fact that a large polarization has emerged in our republic between the People's Front and the International Front. In my view this also attests to the fact that the Communists and party organs have not found the necessary path either.

Commentator: Comrade Nesterenko says that if the Latvian People's Front goes on strike, then it is only the intellectuals who will not be working, but if the International Front goes on strike, then not a single plant in Riga will work. How do you assess statements of this kind?

Ya. Vagris: It is not fronts but people who go on strike. I believe that a strike is not a means of struggle. We have an example—Armenia, Karabakh, where, apart from disorganization and chaos this path has provided nothing. A strike is not a method of resolving any problems in a socialist state.

Commentator: Now one of the most urgent questions frequently repeated in television viewers' calls. It is a case of the protests outside the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the actions of the prosecutor's office and the militia. How does the Central Committee assess this, and have its staffers gone to talk with the actors?

Ya. Vagris: Perhaps it is better here to start with our general attitude toward the protests. If picketing is a form of individual expression of your opinion, then there is nothing bad in it. But if it expresses the opinion of an organization, then there should be specific legal regulation here. Unfortunately, we do not have it in our republic. Our lawyers' opinions vary. That is bad; there must be unity of opinions and actions, and the sooner the better. In Moscow, for instance, this question has been resolved simply. It has been deemed unequivocally there that picketing is a form of demonstration. I think that we too, and above all the supreme soviet presidium, must be concerned to ensure that specific regulations are elaborated, for pickets sometimes grow into unauthorized, crowded meetings. Recently they have been observed to be more aggressive. That is dangerous because there might be physical confrontation, which is absolutely intolerable.

Now about the protests outside the Central Committee. It is even embarrassing for me to say that apparatus workers did not go out to talk with those taking part in

the picketing, although they stood there nearly an hour. We should have approached them and talked with them. I think this could have prevented the consequences. I can only express regret at what happened. If our esteemed figures of art have been offended to the depths of their souls and if they agree to put to me the questions which they raised when they were picketing, then I will meet with them without fail and we will find the time and have a thorough talk about all the problems.

Commentator: Do you believe that the militia's actions in this case were lawful?

Ya. Vagris: I know that some actors have submitted applications to the court. Obviously lawyers will ascertain how this looks from the legal viewpoint. I will return to what I have already said: We must regulate picketing. I repeat, if someone wants to express his individual opinion, that is his right. But where a crowd gathers, this can in no way be assessed as an expression of a personal opinion.

Commentator: With regard to the 23 February demonstration, very many people express fears that it was either a special parade or a show of strength to remind us that the "time of the tanks" could come, that troops could be brought into Latvia. Is it true that this is connected with the elections? There is an opinion that repressions could begin.

Ya. Vagris: No, no. This is gossip. It was reported in the television program "Panorama" that a demonstration of the People's Front will proceed on the Komsomolskaya embankment on 12 March and as far as I know it was sanctioned; the ispolkom issued authorization. There is no question of any tanks. I do not think tanks are necessary....

Commentator: Does Comrade Vagris believe that he should attend the demonstration on Sunday, 12 March?

Ya. Vagris: I was asked this by Comrades Shkapars and Kalniyete when we met at the Central Committee. You see, I did not attend the International Front demonstrations, so here too there should probably be some kind of equilibrium. In my view it would be wrong to disrupt it. This will again give rise to sympathy from one side and antipathy from the other. It is essential where possible to avoid this. I think that the demonstration on Sunday will be attended by party workers, from the party gorkom at any rate. Unfortunately, we do not belong completely to ourselves. The post we hold also means a lot. Especially an elected party post, and we must seriously consider the possible reaction from different groups of the republic's population and avoid excessive outbursts of emotion.

Commentator: Our talk is coming to an end and we have already closed in on the subject of the first secretary's personal life. Today this was probably not included in the talk's proposed subject matter. But I have been keeping back one last question. Comrade Asninysh and

many television viewers want to know when Comrade Vagris' birthday is. So that they can congratulate him not only on state holidays but also on this day.

Ya. Vagris: 17 October.

Commentator: So, Comrade Asninysh, on 17 October you and all viewers will be able to congratulate Comrade Vagris on his birthday.

You have answered the main questions. Perhaps you want to add something more?

Ya. Vagris: It seems to me that I have mainly said everything I planned to say.

Commentator: Thank you very much for taking part in the program. I hope that we will meet more often and that this will become a tradition.

Ya. Vagris: I think that this should indeed be made a tradition, a system.

Commentator: So that you have to come to the studio.

Ya. Vagris: Just as I have to go to work, so I must also come here. For television viewers have obviously learned something from our talk. Perhaps we have repeated ourselves in some ways. But I, for instance, learned a lot from the questions about what interests the people. The absence of feedback—that used to be our weak spot. We can make very good use of just this kind of television broadcast to find our bearings in our work.

Latvian 'Repressed' Gather in Valmiera LD2303134389

[Editorial Report] Riga in Latvian to Europe at 2103 GMT on 19 March in its "Amber Coast" program broadcasts a report on a gathering at the Valmiera House of Culture. Riga notes that "first of all in Riga, then at Ogre, Madona, Jekabpils, and also in other regions—one after another—clubs or organizations of persons politically repressed groundlessly are forming. The 'Amber Coast' microphone is at Valmiera, where almost a thousand people, worn out by torment yet still alive, gathered, each with his own pain."

Before interviews with some ex-deportees, a map of the USSR in a hall at the Valmiera House of Culture with little black flags marking the places of deportation is described. Before a speech, the announcer explains that every word spoken in the hall is being relayed at the same instant to the entire Valmiera rayon and that a little was also recorded by Latvian Radio. The announcer then introduces Dzintars Vitols, one of the organizers of the movement of the repressed ones and a teacher, who just celebrated his 60th birthday. "And, together with congratulations, he also receives threatening telegrams with a categorical appeal to leave politics alone."

Vitols then says: "We have gathered to form an organization of unjustly—I underline unjustly—repressed citizens.

"An echo from the mass graves in Siberia, of the still-rusting barbed wire fences, speaks here today, and also the ruins of the farms, the rural areas of our Latvia, are full of speech.

"The phenomenon of the awakening of the Latvian people as many a thing in Latvia, as well as this meeting, would not have been possible if at last a 180-degree turn had not been made in relation to the assessment of Stalinism.

"We very much await the concrete stories and the concrete memories of eyewitnesses."

Three female speakers then tell their stories in connection with deportation and imprisonment, and a male speaker expresses his opinion that "the murderers" must be sought, regardless of their ages and where they might be. He says the same applies to war criminals and that a petition must be submitted to the government to call "all that scum to account," which can only be done by the people's court. This is greeted by applause. The speaker continues by suggesting that a law should be adopted to term the men, who have washed their hands in the blood of innocent people, criminals, "who are still sitting in high positions, who receive personal pensions, and are still dictating our state's power. And there are a great many of such among us". He mentions what happened in Minsk, where peaceful demonstrators, who were remembering those murdered during Stalin's repressions, were dispersed by militia batons, tear gas, and water, were beaten up, and were arrested. "So then you see that there are very, very many Stalinists, who are still in hiding among us. Also in the Valmiera Rayon, there are very many such people, but at the same time there are people who have worked honestly and do not receive a pension, or receive some 14-15 rubles a month, a kind of pauper's allowance."

Riga in Latvian reports that "jurists and workers of the social security office spoke a great deal at this meeting, because—as we know—laws have already been adopted on recovering the property lost or compensation of its value." In interviews and discussions it is revealed that nothing has changed yet; a "local traitor" had a say in refusing a woman a visa to visit a relative in Canada, and that there are no guarantees that "one will not still be sent to Siberia. A man says "if foreign countries were to intervene," only this could alter matters: Nothing can be recovered of what was lost; all we can do is "give it up for the lost and say thank you."

The report then broadcasts an excerpt of a man's speech: "The principle of a complete democracy will always be observed; everybody has the right to express his opinion, just as everybody has the right to stick to his opinion, even if it differs" from other opinions.

Immediately afterwards, another man reads "an appeal, announcement, or resolution recommended only as a proposal" of the club of repressed ones and the board of the People's Front "to appeal for organizing on 25 March 1989, in Valmiera, a meeting and a demonstration remembering the victims of the deportations. We regard it necessary for the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic organs of power and administration to organize on 14 June 1989, in Riga, a conference of politically repressed Latvian SSR citizens." The man then, in his own name, refers to the Central Television's 19 January broadcast about the Central Committee decision of April 1935, on enemies of the people and their relatives and about executions in 1949 and 1950, a great many teenagers were in the federation. "The fact is in the first issue of 1989 in PADOMJU LATVIJAS KOMMUNISTIS, Comrade Bisers wrote that from 1927 to 1979 70 ethnic groups disappeared, assimilated or partially—so to say—perished in the Soviet Union. The next fact is that from 1940 to the present time, 120,000-140,000 Latvians perished, in addition to the 70,000 Latvians who had perished by 1940, who lived in the Soviet Union. How could this happen? How could this happen, when in 1917 the task of the party was to overthrow the tsar and the capitalist system—which was still at a rudimentary stage—and after that hand over the power to the soviets? But even now it has not been handed over to the soviets." He asks how could it happen that by building socialism, feudalism and slavery were restored, as well as forcible collectivization and slavery which has been experienced by many present in the hall?

The next male speaker mentions that this meeting is not being dispersed by the militia, "but let us not forget that among those present there are some, who as late as last year, upon seeing this combination of maps and hearing something about being groundlessly repressed, with glaring eyes and foaming at the mouth, began to throw about words such as fascists and nationalists. And until the leading chairs are cleansed of such ideological obscurantists, as well as cool and calculating persons, there is no guarantee that what happen to you—in some form or another—will not happen again. And if you yourselves have no strength to act any longer, then perhaps you will let your children, your grandchildren act in your name. Do not restrain them from this. They are mighty. You understand what I mean by them. They are mighty only when they are feared. If they are not feared, then they themselves begin to fear."

Estonian History Group on Molotov-Ribbentrop
LD2403123389 Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian
12 Mar 89 p 1

[Hans Hartmann commentary: "In the Institute of Party History"]

[Excerpts] The scientific council of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee Institute of Party History has discussed several questions which are also of interest to the public at large.

On 1 September, 50 years will have passed since the beginning of World War II. Events preceding and following this need to be given a truthful assessment. Estonian historians wish and demand that the so-called Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, together with its secret protocol which also divided the Baltic states into spheres of interest, be condemned, and be viewed as one link in the chain of Stalinist criminal actions against democracy and humanity. They want the pact to be recognized as invalid (as was done with the Polish emigre government through the 30 July 1941 agreement concluded in London in respect to the section dealing with the Polish territory).

Proceeding from this, on 23 February the scientific council of the institute discussed the topic "About the Soviet-German nonaggression pact concluded 23 August 1939, or the so-called Molotov-Ribbentrop pact." As a result of an exchange of ideas, the principled position of the council was worded as follows: It is considered necessary that a comprehensive, objective assessment, proceeding from general human principles, be given to the Soviet Government's activity in foreign and diplomatic policy during the second half of the 1930's and the beginning of the 1940's.

In the name of historical truth, intensified research will continue. Very shortly a manuscript of the 1939-40 events in Estonia will be discussed in the Institute of Party History with the participation of a wide circle of historians of our republic. This research work must provide a scientific assessment to many contradictory problems of this period in history. [passage omitted]

The institute's scientific council resolved to propose that the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee recognize the resolutions of Eighth C(b)P [Communist Bolsheviks Party] of Estonia Central Committee's Plenum as politically incorrect and invalid and condemn harshly the unfounded repressions which took place in connection with them. The results of the scientific group were shaped into a separate document to be forwarded to Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee

At the same time, attention was drawn to the need to continue intensified scientific research into the questions connected with the eighth plenum and to publish in the press, radio, and television those materials which are of interest. The council took the stance that it is necessary to restore N. Karotamm, first secretary of C(b)P of Estonia Central Committee, to his place in our republic's history and to take steps in order to perpetuate his memory.

Ukrainian Mass Graves From Thirties Confirmed
LD2403084189 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT
24 Mar 89

[Text] Kiev march 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya:

I have been officially confirmed that the bodies discovered in a mass grave little more than a year ago near Bykovnia village in the Darnitsk Forest near Kiev were victims of repressions in the 1930's. This was revealed by Viktor Kulik, the republic's procurator, who heads commission set up by the Ukrainian Council of Ministers to study the circumstances of the deaths.

The investigators questioned the inhabitants of near-by villages and closely examined the remains before arriving at their conclusions.

Despite the lack of hard evidence the investigators analysed initials scratched on decomposed combs or family names engraved on some objects and established some of the victims' names. Examinations of archives later confirmed that the victims were "people's enemies," charged in the 1930's of counterrevolutionary and nationalist activity, espionage and conspiracy. Viktor Kulik believes that there are still more mass graves, awaiting discovery. The search continues.

Housing Shortage Continues in Ukraine
AU1703192589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY
in Russian 12 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by V. Danilov: "How Many Cooperatives Do We Have?"—boxed and printed in boldface]

[Text] Last year the number of cooperatives in the republic, compared with 1987, increased sevenfold, and the volume of products sold by them (works, services), nearly 20 times. By 1 January 1988, there were 13,534 cooperatives with a staff of 248,800. The value of their products sold in a year totaled R900.5 million. In the overall volume of sales, the proportion of consumer goods amounted to 28 percent, and that of consumer services, 25 percent.

By 1 January the structure of cooperatives and their staffs was as follows:

In consumer services, there were 4,252 cooperatives with 84,300 staff members; in public catering, 852 cooperatives with 7,200 staff members; in the production of consumer goods, 2,575 cooperatives with 55,800 staff members; in procuring and processing secondary raw materials, 510 cooperatives with 7,400 staff members; in trade, 118 cooperatives with 1,400 staff members; in the purchasing and resale business, 639 cooperatives with 6,000 staff members; and in other spheres, 4,588 cooperatives with 86,000 staff members.

The Line for Apartments

As reported, early this year in towns and urban-type settlements the waiting lists for better housing conditions amounted to 2.4 million families and single persons. Notwithstanding the fact that apartments built in 1 year in urban localities totaled 254,200, the waiting list

did not shrink, but on the contrary, increased and on 1 January 1988 amounted to 2,276,300 families and single persons. The increase of 1 year proved to be impressive: 119,000 families.

As far as the figures for separate categories of families on the waiting list for apartments are concerned, they are as follows:

On 1 January 1988, disabled veterans and veterans of the Great Patriotic War, the families of fallen servicemen or with the status thereof totaled 69,800, and on 1 January 1989, 75,500; families with many children, 85,000 and 92,200, respectively; single mothers, 35,200 and 38,400; families living in old and ramshackle houses, 45,400 and 47,900; families with top-priority rights to dwellings, 117,300 and 129,600; tenants renting accommodations in houses owned by other people, 236,600 and 225,000.

Time Gone With the Wind

In the last 5 years, the volume of incomplete construction increased by R6 billion at state enterprises alone. The largest volume involves the number of long-term projects in ferrous metallurgy, 37 projects; in the coal industry, 15; and in machine building, 68. But the "Sukhodolskaya-Vostochnaya" and the "Samsonovskaya-Zapadnaya" mines under the Krasnodon coal mining association are probably the record-holders: Their construction work began as far back as in 1965. Indeed, this is nearly a quarter of a century!

Of course, there are quite a few objective reasons for the existence of long-term projects. One of them is the shortage of a work force. In view of such conditions, control over working time, one would think, should have been particularly strict. But not at all! In the report entitled "But We Do Not Save Time," published on 26 February, we reported that staff members in construction organizations are frequently absent from their projects. According to figures amplified by the Ukrainian SSR State Committee on Statistics, in 1988 such losses in working time totaled 1,635,400 man-days. In addition, they were costly. Costs connected with diverting blue- and white-collar workers from their proper jobs totaled R15,546,000.

Indeed, this diversion is an expensive entertainment. But what use was made of these costs, for what pressing undertakings?

Some 17.2 percent of the working time taken away from construction organizations was allotted to work in agriculture, as well as to separating rotten potatoes from the good ones at vegetable and fruit markets and storage centers. Builders dedicated 13.9 percent of their working time to the struggle to keep their cities and workers' settlements clean, to window and floor scrubbing at

Young Pioneers camps, and 3.5 percent of the 1,635,000 man-days went on conferences, rallies, seminars, as well as rehearsals in amateur art groups and sports competitions....

The champion's laurels, however, belong to military commissariats, people's courts, and internal affairs organs. In all, they took away nearly 800,000 man-days (45.2 percent of the total losses) from nearly completed, priority, and basic projects.

As we can see, there are many people who still have not grasped the slogan: "Time is money!" And it is a pity.

Ukrainian Health Ministry Opens Press Center
AU2403121789 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA
in Ukrainian 19 Mar 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "The Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health Reports"]

[Text] As of 3 January 1989, the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health has opened a permanent press center with First Deputy Minister A.M. Serdyuk as chief and A.M. Morozov as press secretary.

The press center's work plan envisages monthly news conferences on topical questions concerning the republic's health services. The time and place have been fixed for the conferences. They are to be held on the last Thursday every month at 1500 hours in the ministry's conference hall in Kiev, Kirov Street, 7.

The subjects discussed at the two news conferences which have already been held were the following: "The problems of medical services for the republic's population," "Influenza and AIDS: rumors and reality," and "Chernobyl: fabrications and the truth."

The themes of the next news conference, on 30 March 1989, will be: "Ecology and man: medical aspects," and "How to provide the republic's population with drugs."

The press center's telephone numbers are: 293-60-22 and 293-62-14.

War Memorial Book Planned for Ukraine
AU1603184989 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY
in Russian 10 Mar 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] At its recent session, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat examined the issue of compiling a republic-level memorial book. It resolved to compile and publish in 1989-95 oblast and Kiev city memorial books which will contain the names and brief data about soldiers who fell in the battles for the homeland during the Great Patriotic War, as well as a collective book about the republic containing general

information. The names, collected from the Ukrainian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War, will make up the republic's memorial book. [passage omitted]

The work carried out by Volyn Oblast party organizations to strengthen socialist legality and state and labor discipline at enterprises, institutions, and organizations was examined. [passage omitted]

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee resolved to set up under the Institute of the History of the Party—a branch of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee—a section concerned with the history, theory, and practice of interethnic relations.

Other issues concerning party work were also examined.

Moldavia's Grossu Appeals for Calm in Republic
PM2003132789 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 25 Feb 89 pp 1,4

["Address by S.K. Grossu, First Secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, on Republican Television" on unspecified date: "Time of Renewal Is Time for Responsible Actions"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers call on the working class, the kolkhoz [collective farm] peasantry, the intelligentsia, party, war, and labor veterans, and young people to increase their efforts and unite to carry out active practical work on the revolutionary renewal of society.

Our country is at a crucial stage of restructuring—the stage of implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. We have wholeheartedly adopted large-scale measures in the political, economic, social, and ideological spheres. We are aware that we have made certain improvements in this multifaceted and complex work, but there are also serious shortcomings. Both serve us equally as a school for restructuring in which we are all pupils. Without belittling our achievements, we must openly face up to our mistakes and omissions, learn lessons from them, and adjust our actions as we engage in the revolutionary renewal of society.

The republic's working people are engaged in everyday affairs, implementing the socioeconomic tasks of restructuring, and renewing political and spiritual life. There are positive trends here on the whole. But at the same time we cannot and do not have the right to overlook the recent negative occurrences in the republic.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the republic supreme soviet presidium and government address you, esteemed comrades, with a sense of deep concern over the recent events in Kishinev, where the situation has seriously deteriorated. Hiding behind restructuring slogans and the growth in national self-awareness, certain irresponsible people are tenaciously bent on destabilizing the sociopolitical climate. Large groups of people incited by them are breaching public order, disrupting city transport and working people's leisure, and creating a situation fraught with unpredictable consequences.

This was shown in particular by the unsanctioned rallies and spontaneous gatherings of people held 12 and 19 February in Victory Park and Victory Square. Inflammatory calls were made at them, passions and emotions were inflamed, the lawful demands of the authorities to observe order were ignored, and acts of hooliganism occurred. The instigators of the unlawful acts are involving adolescents and children in them. They do not give a moment's thought to the damage they cause to impressionable minds when they involve them in a situation where there is all kinds of shouting going on, and when they make them witness unseemly actions by adults.

All this arouses justified indignation among working people in the city and the whole republic, who demand that party, soviet, and law enforcement organs stop these manifestations of extremism, irresponsibility, and demagoguery and suppress the adventurers' attempts to channel people's increased social activeness in a politically harmful direction, without asking who benefits by this. Naturally, the prevailing situation deeply alarms the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intelligentsia, who are really concerned over the fate of restructuring, since the events exceed the bounds of the democratic process and are becoming uncontrollable.

All this is happening despite repeated appeals by party and soviet organs that the discussion and solution of complex questions of sociopolitical life be approached responsibly and that established laws and standards of behavior be observed. All the indications are that the organizers and participants in the aforementioned rallies did not draw conclusions from the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau decision published in the press on the cases of gross violations of public order in Kishinev on 22 January.

In conditions where democracy and glasnost are expanding, more opportunities for the expression of the masses will have opened up than ever before. Every one of us now puts forward suggestions and expresses criticism and ideas in the press and at meetings of labor collectives, and addresses party, soviet, economic, and public organs and organizations at all levels, which have to provide exhaustive answers and take effective measures to solve the problems that worry people. We are well aware that genuine sensitivity and attention are still not shown toward people everywhere. This is a chronic

ailment and we must all cure it together. But at the same time we cannot accept an attitude whereby attempts are made to solve existing problems by means of an ultimatum or strong-arm pressure.

In a speech during his meeting with working people in Kiev, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, supported the workers' opinion that "enough's enough, we have done plenty of talking, and it is time now for action." Mikhail Sergeyevich stressed that "appeals dictated by political ambitions, careerism, and sometimes simply open enmity toward socialism are bogus, dangerous, and pernicious. We would caution those who spread them that they are playing with fire."

The republic is now widely discussing questions of spiritual culture and interethnic relations, particularly language problems. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the republic supreme soviet presidium and government are carefully studying and analyzing these processes, and constructive decisions have been made on some of them aimed at establishing a high standard of interethnic relations and developing both the Moldavian language and the languages of the other peoples living in our republic.

One such decision was the support given by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau to the republic supreme soviet presidium proposals on preparing a draft law "On the Status of the Moldavian Language" and "On the Functioning of the Moldavian, Russian, and Other Languages on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR." These documents were adopted as a result of the republic supreme soviet presidium's study of materials from the interdepartmental commission studying the history and problems of development of the Moldavian language and the linguistic situation in the republic in the light of opinions, views, and suggestions reflected in the press and radio and television broadcasts.

The adopted documents envisage the elaboration of the concept of Moldavian as the state language and the study of questions involved in switching Moldavian to the Roman alphabet. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has advised the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to be precisely guided in this work by Lenin's tenet on language and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference resolution "On Interethnic Relations." Here it is essential to provide support for the principles of national-Russian and Russian-national bilingualism, the use of Russian as a means of interethnic communication, and the development and the functioning of Ukrainian, Gagauz, Bulgarian, and the other languages of all the nationalities and ethnic groups living on our republic's territory.

The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Public Education, Science, and Culture has been instructed to carry out, with specialists, work on the

in-depth study of problems connected with the use of the Roman script and further study of public opinion and other questions touching on these problems.

These decisions can, without any exaggeration, be described as crucial in Moldavia's history. They will be submitted for discussion by the people and scrutiny by a session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic supreme soviet presidium and council of ministers are persistently seeking ways to solve other problems that have accumulated. This primarily concerns improving the state of the environment, the air and water, setting up ecologically clean and harmless production units, carrying out the food program, protecting the health of people, mothers, and children, speeding up the construction of housing, and filling the market and stores with a wide range of footstuffs and consumer goods. These questions are at the focus of attention of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government. The public is regularly informed of the measures being taken.

However, it is impossible to immediately eliminate the burden of past years' shortcomings and omissions; the formulated line must be pursued with utter responsibility, thoughtfully, and coolly. Statesmanship and sober analysis rather than overwrought emotions are needed in order to solve the accumulated problems. The people expect objective, well-considered words and sensible, realistic actions from us all—party and soviet workers, deputies, and the scientific and creative intelligentsia.

However, the organization of effective implementation of the set tasks is hampered by politically immature people who stir up tension, manipulate the consciousness of the masses, mislead public opinion, play on the people's national feelings, and arouse painful emotions and confusion in people. There is no doubt that such actions are having an adverse effect today, when the practical implementation of restructuring and the reform of the political system have begun in the republic, as everywhere else in the country. Some people would like to turn the campaign to elect USSR people's deputies into a basis for achieving group ambitions and to amass political capital.

Such people who speculate on glasnost and democracy do not, of course—we are firmly convinced of this—reflect the stance of Moldavia's working people, the majority of whom sincerely want restructuring to succeed and socialism to be cleansed of the scale of Stalinism and the slime of stagnation.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers urge all who are concerned over the fate of restructuring to unite in defense of its ideals. We appeal to our working class and kolkhoz peasantry. We are counting on you to increase your

efforts to achieve the practical implementation of the party's economic and social course of restructuring. You know better than anyone the price of achieving material benefits and how they can be increased to meet the needs of the entire people. Your selfless work, skill, and social stance are not just the basis for creating a decent life for Soviet people but also serve as an example of great educative value for all our people.

We call on our esteemed figures in science and culture and representatives of the entire creative intelligentsia. Your contribution to restructuring and to creating the new moral and political atmosphere in society is universally recognized. We are certain that this role will continue to grow. That is why responsible judgment, high standards of debate, the resolute rejection of factionalism, ill will, and bitterness, and the consolidation of forces committed to the policy of restructuring on the basis of our socialist values are especially important today. The people expect you to provide wise words that help creative work, elevate the individual, and spiritually renew our society.

We call on party, war, and labor veterans. Your devotion to the cause of socialism, genuine concern for the fate of the motherland and the people, and maturity in solving historic tasks have served as a good lesson to more than one generation of Soviet people. At this fateful time we rely on your wealth of experience and skill in overcoming difficulties, promptly supporting good deeds, and wisely directing those who have strayed from the right path.

We call on our young people, whose fate is firmly bound up with restructuring. You, our young comrades and fellow citizens, together with the older generations, are today laying the foundations of socialism's renewal. You have to build it up. It is therefore essential that it be cemented from the very outset with intelligent concern for the future, the ability to learn useful lessons from our history, a high code of ethics and morality, and a fusion of purity of intent and purity of deed. Your philosophical and political awareness is still only strengthening; do not let it be ruined or distorted by irresponsible words and deeds or let yourselves be goaded into seditious or unlawful acts by ill-intentioned people.

I call on the truly internationalist and patriotic feelings of all the peoples inhabiting our republic: Show restraint, self-possession, and a high level of responsibility, and thoroughly appreciate the great danger which we could face if passions continue to be stoked up and emotion prevails over reason.

The democratization of our society is creating conditions for the free expression of the people's will. But a democratic state cannot allow some people to flout the law and neglect their duties to society.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and government urge the republic's working people

to resolutely thwart attempts by irresponsible people to provoke disorder, foment interethnic discord, spread false rumors, turn people into instruments of blind forces, and incite them to break the law. We should remember that we all bear collective and individual responsibility not just for the future of our own children and people but for our common home and the fate of revolutionary restructuring, democratization, and glasnost.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the republic supreme soviet presidium and government express the hope that the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the intelligentsia, young people, and all working people will interpret our appeal correctly and with understanding. We earnestly entreat you to do your utmost to ensure that the moral and psychological climate is not marred by ill-considered actions and that no one disturbs the normal life, work, and leisure of the inhabitants of Kishinev and of all working people of the republic.

Georgian Theological Academy Opens in Tbilisi
AU1603111389 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE
in Polish 7 Mar 89 p 5

[NOVOSTI-attributed document "especially for SLOWO POWSZECHNE" signed by the Rectorate of the Tbilisi Spiritual Academy: "Opening of a Spiritual Academy in Tbilisi"]

[Text] The Tbilisi Spiritual Academy was ceremoniously opened on 1 October 1988. The opening was attended by Iliya II, patriarch of Georgia; Bishop Zosima, rector of the academy; hierarchs and clergymen of the Russian Orthodox Church; teachers and students; representatives of academic and social institutions; officials; and guests.

The opening of this academy shows that Christian traditions are firmly rooted in the consciousness of the Georgian population, and provides testimony of the positive processes taking place in modern society.

The objectives of the Tbilisi Spiritual Academy are as follows:

—To increase the spiritual, intellectual, and moral standards of the clergy and the faithful of the Georgian Orthodox Church. There have been no higher theological schools in Georgia for a long time. All seminaries and parish and convent schools were closed in the 1920's. It became very difficult to train clergymen and provide society with religious instruction. Theological literature was partly destroyed and partly stored in libraries that were inaccessible to the public. In 1963, a seminary was opened in Mtskheta, meant to prepare clergymen for service in parishes. However, this seminary only solved a few of the practical problems. Its opening was not enough to revive theological education in Georgia.

—To revive the Georgian school of religious thought and increase the intellectual, theological, and spiritual standards of the clergy, and therefore of believers. One should note that the period of voluntarism and atheism, marked by mockery of religion; the destruction of churches connected with the history of the Georgian people; the conversion of churches into warehouses, theaters, and baths; the vandalization of old frescoes by scratching out eyes and scrawling graffiti all over them; and the breaking of tombstones that bore Christian emblems—all this was a deep blow to the spirit of the nation and affected the moral principles of the family and of society. On the other hand, it caused a feeling of hurt and bitterness on account of the unavenged losses suffered by the church and people. We also have to take this into account in our teaching.

—To revive and develop the Georgian school of theology, in accordance with the traditions of Georgian spiritual academies, while taking into account the requirements of modern times. Each nation has its own history, and values it. The history of the Georgian Orthodox Church and theological education in Georgia is a solid foundation on which we are building our spiritual academy. We should base ourselves on the biblical, exegetic, hermeneutic, and philosophical work bequeathed to us by Georgian theological academies in and outside Georgia. We must continue the theological orientation of previous Georgian academies.

One of the tasks of theology is to present eternal truths in terms of modern thinking. That is why we have to consider the needs and character of today's Christian, so that he may understand us. However, in imparting spiritual life to the world, the church should not melt into and become part of the world. Instead, it should place itself above the world and attract it toward eternal church ideals.

—To interpret, study, and preserve the traditions of the Georgian Orthodox Church and its contribution to the Catholic Church. In the 16 centuries of its existence, the old Georgian Church produced masterpieces of art and literature. It is the Academy's duty to study and preserve spiritual, historic, and national treasures.

The church is a living spiritual organism. The work of Christ on earth is implemented in it and through it. The academy's mission is to seek and improve the forms and methods of Christian pastoral work in Georgia and provide the people with religious education.

The church is geared to eternity, but it is present in history. It educates man so that he may enter heaven, but man's personality is shaped on earth. The church represents a powerful moral force, with enormous unexhausted possibilities. Therefore, the academy should provide a theological basis on which to establish Christian and ethical rules governing relations between people, relations that involve love and justice.

The academy sets itself the following urgent tasks:

- To set up a scientific-theological center, which would unite the intellectual forces of Georgia;
- To set up faculties dealing with basic church disciplines;
- To compile and publish textbooks and teaching aids in the Georgian language, taking into account the character of theological schools and the requirements of modern times;
- To maintain academic contacts with secular and religious schools at home and abroad;
- To translate the Holy Scriptures and biblical works;
- To revive the Georgian philosophical language and terminology. The Georgian philosophical language, created by thinkers in the Middle Ages, is unbeatable for the precision of its abstract theological formulations and its emotional clarity. It is essential to consolidate this language and make it a living property of the modern Georgian philosophical school, theology, and literature;
- To publish a collection of academic works, plus periodicals containing lectures, speeches, and articles by academy lecturers, as well as the work of the best students;
- To create a library for the needs of the academy;
- To hold permanent consultations for clergymen;
- To organize lectures and seminars for the faithful.

The academy's most important mission is the spiritual and moral upbringing of students, by means of prayer; attendance at mass; suitable literature; and visits to monasteries, churches, and museums where the treasures of the Georgian people are kept.

The Rectorate of the Tbilisi Spiritual Academy.

Armenian MVD Data on 6-12 Mar Crimes Cited
PM2303110189 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
14 Mar 89 p 3

[Armenian SSR MVD Political Department Press Group report: "MVD News Item"]

[Text] In the past week, 6 through 12 March, 98 crimes were committed in Yerevan and the republic, the bulk of which continue to be thefts of state and public property—14, of which 7 have been cleared up—and thefts of citizens' personal property—28, of which 8 have been cleared up. Some 21 cases of domestic assault—11 solved—and 5 cases of hooliganism—3 solved—were recorded.

Some 33 road traffic accidents occurred on the republic's highways, as a result of which 2 people died and 40 suffered varying degrees of bodily injury.

During an argument store assistant Ashota Albertovich Oganessian, who worked at the "Zovk" Mineral Water Production Association direct-sale store, was attacked with a sharp implement in the rayon named for the 26 Commissars 7 March, and died as a result. Steps taken

by the rayon department's operations group have established that the lethal wound was inflicted by Virab Paruyrovich Gasparyan, a worker at the "Zovk" store, who has now been arrested.

Sovetskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department staffers have cleared up a crime against Norayra Genrikovich Khachatryan, a tenth-grader at Secondary School No 134. It has been established that Aram Robertovich Musinyan, a ninth-grader at the same school, stabbed the victim in the thorax during a fight.

Selfless and resolute actions on the part of Militia Captain G. Episkoposyan, chief of the Shirakskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department Criminal Investigation Branch, resulted in the arrest of Vladimir Fridovich Oleynik, a driver at the 1199 Automobile Transportation Office in Kropotkina, Krasnodar Kray, who fired shots into the air from the cab of his KamAZ truck No 68-36 KKL from a single-bore 12-caliber sporting gun.

Juveniles M and K made a criminal deal and stole 15 private automobiles in the last 9 months in the city of Yerevan and stole spare parts from them. They were detected by Sovetskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration staffers.

Samvel Tsovakovich Topuzyan, an accountant at "Vaspurakan" Cooperative, entered into a criminal compact with Suren Mikayelovich Akopdzhanyan, a worker at the same cooperative, and obtained 3000kg of mandarins at R1 per kilogram and resold them for R3.50 per kilo, receiving a profit of R7,500 as a result of the speculative deal.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted in respect of all the aforementioned cases.

Armenian Charity Fund Holds Conference
PM2303103989 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
8 Mar 89 p 2

[ARMENPRESS report: "Armenian Charity and Health Fund Set Up"]

[Text] Mobilizing broad strata of society to participate in social and medical aid to the population, creating and improving charity services, uniting efforts of individual people, enterprise and establishment collectives to give practical aid to war and labor veterans and other people who need it, increasing care for the elderly, the disabled and sick people living alone. This is an incomplete list of tasks which will be implemented by the the Armenian Charity and Health Fund. The new fund must serve the cause of the people's moral education, the development of ideals of humanitarianism, compassion, and collectivism in society, and the growth of responsibility to protect and improve citizens' health.

The sense of charity and compassion for another person's misfortunes is in man's nature. A person's moral complexion depends largely on how far he can use this gift. The earthquake which hit Armenia 7 December last year once more demonstrated these qualities when people throughout the world, prompted by the highest feelings, stretched out a hand to assist the Armenian people who suffered in the disaster. This assistance, which continues to this day, showed once again charity's great power and what it is capable of doing.

All this was discussed in detail at the constituent conference of the Armenian Charity and Health Fund which took place 4 March in Yerevan.

The speaker—N. Balayan, the Armenian SSR minister of social security—noted that the founding organizations of this fund are the Ministries of Social Security and Public Health, the Trade Union Council, the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee, the Armenian Red Cross Society, and the Republic Council of War and Labor Veterans. Charity and philanthropy, of course, are each person's personal affair. But when people's efforts are united on a voluntary basis they are turned into a powerful force which can produce significant results for the cause of giving selfless assistance to the elderly, disabled, and orphans.

Those who spoke at the conference unanimously supported the idea of creating a charity fund and expressed their readiness to give this public organization both material and moral support.

The constituent conference elected the leading organs of the Armenian Charity and Health Fund. Doctor of Medical Sciences A. Mikayelyan, director of the Yerevan department of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Scientific Surgery Center, was elected chairman of the fund's board.

The following took part in the conference's work: G. Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; R. Akopyan, candidate member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Department of Organizational-Party and Cadre Work; Yu. Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; G. Asatryan, chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department; and Doctor of Medical Sciences V. Menshikov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Charity and Health Fund.

Tajik KGB Officially Warns Islamic Activist
PM2303123589 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 10 Mar 89 p 2

[TADZHIKTA report: "In the Tajik SSR KGB"]

[Text] In accordance with a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 25 December 1972, an official warning was issued by the Tajik SSR KGB 6 March 1989

to citizen Gafur Zaydullayev for spreading ideologically detrimental material with slanderous content—"Jihad" leaflets and also propaganda of pan-Islamic ideas which are alien to Soviet reality.

Taking into account his lack of experience and ideological tempering and his sincere repentance, the security organs in agreement with the republic prosecutor's office limited themselves to measures of a precautionary-preventive nature concerning Gafur Zaydullayev.

The Tadzhik SSR KGB expresses its thanks to all citizens who have given assistance in exposing and warning against G. Zaydullayev's activity.

Tajik Leaders Discuss Dushanbe Language Rally
PM2003144589 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 4 Mar 89 p 3

[TADZHIKTA report: "Our Strength Lies in Unity Alone"]

[Text] In the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Hall of Sessions, members and candidate members of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and members of the Dushanbe party gorkom bureau met on 2 March with representatives of the city's labor collectives and scientific and educational institutions and of mass news and propaganda media. Chairmen of labor collective councils, party and Kom-somol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] organization secretaries, workers, and scientists took advantage of the rostrum and the portable microphone to share their thoughts.

D.Kh. Karimov, first secretary of the Dushanbe party gorkom, opened the meeting and said that two events had occurred in the city in the last few days: Mass disturbances instigated by hooligans at the Industrial Teacher Training Technical College and around the "Tadzhikistan" movie theater, and an unauthorized rally in the capital's central square. Even though this was reported, rumors and gossip were rife in the city. There were some "gold-diggers" who took advantage of this and started inflaming the situation. An appropriate, principled assessment has been made of all this.

However, most of the city's population hardly knew anything about the rally. People worked as usual on that day, jointly in their multinational collectives, as always. It is therefore understandable that representatives of workers and the technical intelligentsia were invited to the discussion: to hear their point of view and to elaborate correct guidelines.

It must be said that none of the speakers played down the acuteness of the situation, and they all spoke bluntly of what perturbs each one of them personally, their families, and the entire collective where each of them works.

Major concern was expressed in particular by the representative of the Dushanbe taxi enterprise. Today's situation, he noted, somehow does not fit in with reality. The enterprise' entire collective and its public organizations are unanimous: We all have been living as a single family for more than 70 years. But now we are trying to find out who speaks what language. Ordinary people know all about work and labor, but the ballyhoo surrounding language status may be misunderstood. Therefore the collective warns against hasty decisions. As for the language's status, is anyone hindering its enhancement everywhere? We have specialists, the mass media, and educational establishments. Scientists, lecturers, and literary workers must be the first to show concern about the purity of the native language.

The representative of the "Guldast" production association collective also made an assessment of the rally in Dushanbe's Lenin Square.

Who actually organized the rally? Why was it attended only by young people? Won't the adoption of [state] status create problems, and will relations between people not be exacerbated? After all, there are already all sorts of talk. We believe that there is no need to make any new decisions. If they are made, other languages must also be given status.

Let us give the unfettered and blunt nature of the discussion its due. It became possible thanks to the democratization of our entire life, thanks to the fact that leadership workers have begun to have more contact with the people, consider their opinion, take it into account, and make amendments to long-term plans. After all, real life in all its variety is lived not in lobbies and quiet offices but on the production floor, in movie theaters, in the waiting lines for public transport, and in the market where thousands of people come into contact willy-nilly, each of them with their own character and their own situation in life. This is the place where sundry instigators may find scope for their actions if they are allowed to, if they are given an opportunity. There are already precedents of tactless behavior on language grounds in the trade network and in taxis. There are reasons to believe that there are also gossippers who foster anxiety among the population. The meeting's participants condemned this. They were unanimous: No matter where they might occur, no matter what form they might take, scornful attitudes or attitudes degrading people's national dignity must be immediately countered and the culprits taken to task.

It must also be said that the speakers included representatives of many nationalities—Tajiks, Russians, Uzbeks, Tatars, and others.

There was another typical point. For example, when speaking about the rally in Dushanbe's square, the representative of the "Tadzhiktekstil'mash" production association said that the machine builders' collective was not against the rally as such, but it does condemn the fact

that it was held without authorization on 24 February. Rumors were circulating around the enterprises on that day, and an atmosphere of anxiety developed. People hurried to collect their children from kindergartens—and all because of misunderstandings and inadequate information. We believe that the mass media malfunctioned in this instance. He added that if a law on language is adopted, it must not be in any way detrimental to other languages.

Let us note, by the way, that language study has been voluntary since time immemorial. But the knowledge of several languages has always been highly appreciated.

The meeting also heard complaints that the commission for the elaboration of the state language's status does not include representatives of labor collectives, economists, engineers, or the technical intelligentsia. The biased selection of commission members offers no opportunity to objectively assess all complexities and take them into account in the law. Nor was this problem discussed within labor collectives. The upcoming adoption of the status also gives rise to questions about the training and further training of cadres outside the republic, official correspondence, and publication of technical documents and literature. How will they be answered?

It was also said that dictionaries and reference and study material in the Tajik language are published in small quantities, while school instruction is poor. In order to remedy the situation, it might be necessary to set up a voluntary foundation for the publication of literature and for enhancing the Tajik language's cultural level. Enterprises would be only too willing to make their contribution.

An emotional speech was delivered by the printing workers' representative, who had graduated from the harsh school of Afghanistan. Some people here spoke about how friendship could be damaged by the adoption of the language status. This is not true. Our friendship was repeatedly tested in Afghanistan, where representatives of many nationalities served shoulder to shoulder. So let us strengthen our unity because our strength lies in it alone.

Many participants in the meeting also expressed the following worry: If a law on one language is adopted, is this not likely to lead to discrimination in various spheres of our life? Is this also not likely to happen in educational establishments—will it not become more difficult for the children of representatives of nonindigenous nationalities to enroll in them?

Here it is necessary to rely on the USSR Constitution, which guarantees the freedom of all nations and ethnic groups to choose their language, nationality, their right to education and work, and so on.

Other questions arise. This is the main one: What is the real meaning of the status of state language? What is its purpose, and what are the consequences of its adoption?

These questions, as well as questions concerning the material and technical base and the form of languages' functions in business and daily life were asked by participants in the meeting of members of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission. But a sufficiently exhaustive reply to this question is not yet available, it is still at the elaboration stage. It was emphasized at the meeting that the draft law on languages will be submitted for nationwide discussion. Another important point was the fact that all participants in the meeting were unanimous: The Tajik language demands intense attention, and it is necessary to enhance its prestige and culture. For this purpose it is necessary to make use of all means available in the arsenal. Furthermore, this must in no way be detrimental to the interests of representatives of other nationalities living in the republic.

K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, summed up the meeting's results. He said, in particular, that today is a time when we all must learn democracy. Everyone must know that the USSR Supreme Soviet session introduced amendments to the USSR Constitution. It was after this event that a commission for the introduction of amendments to the Tajik SSR Constitution was set up, followed by a commission on language to discuss how we are to continue. It must be said: Over many decades matters in the republic developed in such a way that we began to forget our native language. Everything seems to work smoothly in the Russian language. The commission was set the task of ensuring that the Tajik language in the future occupies its proper position among the languages currently in use in the republic. It was instructed to elaborate basic guidelines for the use of languages. But the drafts that have been elaborated must not be given the force of law without nationwide discussion. We are talking a lot about the language's state status. Yet there are countries where all this was settled a long time ago. Canada, Switzerland, Finland, and India have long had laws on the status of two or more languages, such as Hindi and English in India. A language used by only eight percent of the population is recognized as a state language in Finland.

Before determining status, it is necessary to work out a definition of it which can be understood by everyone. A group of scientists has been instructed to elaborate a draft law on the status of languages which will be published in the press. This will make it possible to make a correct decision. Haste in such a complex and delicate issue can only be harmful. We still have time. Now it is necessary to most seriously get down to an important political campaign—preparation for the election of USSR people's deputies.

True, there are people who organize sundry events, including the unauthorized rally. It could have been dispersed as illegal. But the government decided: Let them talk. What were they talking about? About giving the language state status. But a commission has been working on this for a long time. About making Navruz Day, 21 March, a public holiday? We can consult the people, then study this question and resolve it. But these questions have nothing to do with restructuring. Therefore, before talking about the granting of status, let us comprehensively discuss its general provisions after the election of USSR people's deputies.

The purpose of the meeting, K.M. Makhkamov went on to note, is to enable those assembled here to explain to their collectives the essence of the question and the republic's main problems—the food problem, the housing problem, and others. In mid-February 1, together with G.P. Pallayev, chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and I.Kh. Khayeyev, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. [sentence as published] For 1 hour we conversed with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented our problems, and spoke about the assistance Tajikistan expects from the central government; the results are already there. The republic has been allocated additional capacities for monolithic housing construction since 90 percent of the rural housing stock is built of adobe [iz pakhsy], which does not meet the requirements for earthquake resistance. The Tajik aluminum plant will set up a shop for the production of lightweight structures for the assembly of storage facilities, especially in rural areas, pavilions, auxiliary buildings for children's preschool institutions, and others. The question of increasing the area sown to industrial crops has been resolved. In short, we all must get down to work. We must till the soil as a single united family, grow grain and cotton, raise a new generation, boost spiritual culture, and aim for the republic's socioeconomic prosperity. As for the ideas about departing from the republic voiced here, it pains us to hear them. We made the revolution and built socialism together. Let us accelerate restructuring together.

Taking part in the meeting were A.D. Dadabev, V.V. Vakhidov, G.G. Veselkov, C.P. Pallayev, V.V. Petkel, Yu.Ye. Sukhov, I.Kh. Khayeyev, and M.S. Salikhov, members and candidate members of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; I.F. Dedov, deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; U.G. Usmanov, deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers.

Language Rally Leaders Scored

PM2303164489 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 3

[TADZHIKTA article: "On 'Rally Democracy'"]

[Text] Some time has elapsed since the unauthorized rally was held in Dushanbe on 24 February, but the talk and rumors are continuing to snowball. Some accuse the

organs of power of "conniving with those who disrupt order." Others, on the contrary, talk about the "suppression of democracy." Yet a principled assessment of the incident has already been given by Dushanbe Prosecutor S. Sharopov and the Dushanbe city party committee bureau. An official warning was given to the initiators—Tajik State University staffers B. Maksudov and D. Isoyev, as well as No 1 footwear factory worker S. Mastonzod.

...So the rally took place, all the same. By noon some 1,000 people had gathered in the square, mostly students. And the republican leaders adopted what appears to be the right decision: to take part in the discussion at the rally. Can this be regarded as encouraging permissiveness, as some people claim? Of course not.

Being led by an excited crowd, playing along with its passions—that is one thing. But taking control of a situation that is fraught with the risk of unpredictable consequences, channeling the discussion in a constructive direction—that is another matter. And that is what happened on 24 February.

As a result the debate centered on really important questions, and not invented problems, as was the hope of certain advocates of extreme views in the initiative group. TADZHIKTA correspondents met with one of the group's leaders, B. Maksudov, after he received an official warning from the city prosecutor. Maksudov acknowledged, in particular, that the law is the law, and must be observed.

The question then springs to mind: What was the purpose of the rally, and what are the initiative group's objectives?

"The main thing, in my view" the young scientist says, "is to awaken a sense of political activeness in young people and make them realize that their participation in the resolution of topical problems of restructuring is extremely necessary. We must learn to live in new conditions, and young people must acquire a taste for 'rally democracy.' In this instance we decided to test how productive our work was—after all, the rally was in preparation for 2 months."

The conclusion from this is clear: The rally's organizers deliberately decided to break the law. But it would have done them no harm to look ahead: to ask themselves, for instance, what might come of this unlawful action? Would they be able to keep the young people under control? Without that certainty, the group's actions can be regarded as irresponsible.

Facts are facts. According to B. Maksudov, some of the slogans voiced at the rally came as a surprise even to him. This means that apart from our interviewee and his supporters, there are other forces influencing young people. And Barot himself admits that he is sure of only half the members of the initiative group. As for the rest,

their objectives are not entirely clear to him. He also admits that the speakers at the rally included individuals with patently extremist views.

Indeed. What, one wonders, can a young candidate of sciences from the Tajik State University have in common with people like B. Shukurov or K. Rakhimov, for instance?

The former is an inhabitant of the "Thaelmann" state farm [sovkhoz] in Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy Rayon. Passing himself off, without the slightest foundation, as a clergyman and calling for the triumph of Islam, he is really concerned with other things. For example: A few months ago Shukurov returned from imprisonment, where he served a sentence not for his religious convictions, but for malicious hooliganism. Three years ago this man, whom one cannot bring oneself to call a believer, headed a group of pogromists who broke into the building of the former Kurgan-Tyube party oblast committee and beat up the militiaman on duty.

Shukurov has his match in Rakhimov, watchman at a pumping station in Ilichevskiy Rayon, who claims the title of clergyman. He openly slanders the socialist system, presents in a false light the situation of believers in Soviet Tajikistan, and kindles religious and national discord. This pseudomullah has repeatedly been warned in connection with his provocative actions. But how is one to assess the fact that Rakhimov and Shukurov, passing themselves off as "champions of Islam," tried to disrupt a session of the Tajik qadiate [body of Islamic judges] on 28 February? These people were trying to speak in the name of the Tajik people and teach young people.

How can Barot Maksudov, who in conversation with journalists stressed repeatedly that he pursues noble goals and strives to act exclusively in the interests of deepening restructuring and democracy and declared his commitment to socialist ideals, work in harness with Shukurov and Rakhimov? Incidentally, certain other members of the initiative group, who asked us not to mention their names, also expressed their fears about the possible stepping up of activity by extremists. In fact, this desire to remain incognito can itself be regarded as evidence of a certain influence on the part of the extremists.

A noble cause should be built with clean hands. That is axiomatic. But what happened in this case? The methods, for instance, by which the students were assembled for the rally, appear dubious, to put it mildly. Why, one wonders, did the initiative group conceal the decision of the city soviet executive committee refusing permission for this event? Furthermore, a rumor that the rally was authorized was intensively circulated among young people at the Tajik State University. How are we to understand the behavior of Dzhumakhon Isoyev, staffer of the state university's organic chemistry faculty, and Mirzo

Salimov, 3d-year student in the accountancy and economics faculty, who, even after the ban, continued to visit other higher educational institutions [VUZ's] and student hostels, urging the kids to come to the square, inflaming passions over the language problem, and calling on them to prepare banners and posters? That is not an isolated example. As students of the Tajik State University, the agricultural and medical institutes, and the art and medical colleges told journalists, on the eve of the rally "agitators" were in action among them, giving them, it later emerged, deliberately false information.

Now to the essence of the problems raised at the rally. No one doubts that proper conditions must be created for the development of the Tajik language. But it is also clear that in a multinational republic the language problem cannot be resolved arbitrarily, without taking into account the opinions and interests of the entire population.

Nor must it be forgotten that the language issue is closely connected with economic, political, social, and cultural problems. To judge by conversations with members of the initiative group, they are well aware of this. Indeed, many of them, in view of the complex and multifaceted nature of the language problem, did not want it to dominate the rally and wanted to give priority to ecological issues. It did not work out that way! Serious thought should be given to this.

The language issue is undeniably important. The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium announced the composition of a commission that is studying all these problems and preparing concrete proposals in light of public opinion. As was noted, haste in making decisions on languages can only do harm. The commission must be given an opportunity to analyze the problem calmly and carefully. In the economy, as in other spheres of life, strong-arm tactics have long been condemned. Nothing good can be done under duress. And now everyone realizes that. The young people's energy must now be directed toward unresolved socioeconomic problems: housing, food, demographic problems, the problem of improving the quality of leisure.

Attempts to lead young people astray are therefore alarming. It is not as if there is a lack of problems that young people could be encouraged to resolve today. Take hostels; the very appearance of them, the lack of amenities, leads to indignation.

Our correspondents tried to discover the initiative group's platform. They were unsuccessful. They only heard abstract arguments about "political activeness." But life does not stand still. The time of "rally democracy" is already passing. It is time to move on to the democracy of creation—from talk to action.

After the rally, journalists visited various places: student bodies, industrial enterprises, and sovkhozes, and talked with people of various professions and nationalities. The opinion of the vast majority, whether Tajiks, Russians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Ukrainians, or representatives of the other peoples that live in the republic, was unanimous. The language problem is important, but its resolution must be considered in depth. The most important thing is not to harm the interests of the republic's multinational community.

Everyone we talked with in recent days, while attaching due importance to the need to revive the Tajik language, condemned attempts to use this problem to undermine the friendship and fraternity between the peoples that live in Tajikistan. Much was also said about the importance of improving the teaching of Russian, which traditionally plays the part of interethnic means of communication not only in our republic, but countrywide.

Individual attempts arbitrarily to switch to teaching in the Tajik language in the Tajik State University law faculty and at the agricultural institute and instances of an offensive attitude toward people not speaking Tajik were condemned. Naturally, party and state organs must give a principled assessment of all such instances.

Incidentally, these organs should learn the appropriate lessons. The events in the square showed that the party and Communist Youth League [Komsomol] organizations of VUZ's in Dushanbe were not up to their task. Obviously party, Komsomol, and trade union leaders should change their work style and give up sluggish methods and stereotyped thinking.

It is hard to explain the behavior of a number of teachers who in effect gave students their blessing to break the law. An equally great responsibility rests with the young people's parents, who doubtless knew of their children's intentions, but failed to pay due attention.

References to the "impossibility" of controlling young people's emotions do not look convincing, either. After all, mentors and leaders of social organizations at other educational establishments managed to explain to young people that the problems that worry them are being tackled and the commission is working on the drafting of a law on language status. That was why a rally on the issue was unjustified. What does this show? That the majority of young people were ill-informed, and therefore went to the rally.

In raising the language problem the members of the initiative group worked exclusively among representatives of the Tajik nationality. Whether they intended it or not, they played into the hands of those who seek to split young people, divide them on the basis of nationality, and set one group against another. Is this not how the disunity began in some other republics of ours? After all, there too it all started with slogans about language and ecological issues. But gradually the sober-minded

initiators of the youth movements were pushed aside, and outright extremists rose to the top of the turbulent wave of emotions and passions, often people with a murky past, and they managed to turn some young people in a direction that suits them but is not compatible with our common interests. For many of them, the kindling of nationalist passions has become a profession, while young people are a tool in their unscrupulous intrigues.

The democratization of all spheres of our life is an irreversible process. But democracy undoubtedly presupposes responsibility for one's words, deeds, and acts. It must not be confused with anarchy and permissiveness. Yet that is the direction in which our ideological enemies are trying to push immature young people, making use of the process of democratization and glasnost in the desire to suggest to Soviet people false goals and damaging values and to sow doubt as to the correctness and sincerity of the party's policy, the line of restructuring and improving things in the country. Those who, even out of good intentions, allow themselves to be led by passions and emotions and seek to tackle problems by "strong-arm" methods are, willy-nilly, offering grist to our enemies' mill.

Kazakh 11 March Plenum Proceedings Reported
PM2303123989 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The 14th Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held on 11 March 1989.

The plenum discussed the question "Of Organizational Work by the Republic Party Organization To Implement the Decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference." The report by the Central Committee Bureau on this issue was delivered by M.S. Mendybayev, second secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

The following took part in the discussion of the report: N.T. Knyazev, first secretary of the Kustanay Kazakh Communist Party Obkom; K.B. Boztayev, first secretary of the Semipalatinsk Kazakh Communist Party Obkom; Ye.M. Zolotarev, chairman of the Kzyl-Orda Oblispolkom; A. Rakhmanova, tractor driver at the Telman Kolkhoz, Uygurskiy Rayon, Alma-Ata Oblast; A.A. Kulibayev, first secretary of the Guryev Kazakh Communist Party Obkom; S.V. Drozhzhin, senior rolling-press operator at the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine; N.M. Makiyevskiy, deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Kazakh SSR Gosstroy; A.M. Mashurov, first secretary of the Alakulskiy party raykom, Taldy-Kurgan Oblast; and A. Mustapenova, dairymaid at the 22d CPSU Congress Sovkhoz, Kurchumskiy Rayon, East Kazakhstan Oblast.

The closing speech at the plenum was delivered by G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the issue discussed, which will be published in the press.

The plenum ratified the proposal on the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee commissions and their personnel.

The plenum discussed organizational issues.

In connection with their retirement, transfer to other work, move from the republic, or at their personal request, the plenum removed V.A. Grebenyuk, P.I. Yerpilov, S.Kh. Khadanov, A.G. Korkin, N.Ye. Morozov, L.I. Pingarev, and V.T. Stepanov as members of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum also removed M.B. Iksanov and Zh.Sh. Kalmagambetov as members of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and V.M. Strinzha as candidate member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee for serious shortcomings in their previous work.

The plenum released Z.K. Kamalidenov from his duties as member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with his retirement for health reasons and at his personal request.

The plenum elected M.R. Sagdiyev and K.Kh. Tyulebekov as members of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum promoted V.M. Miroshnik from candidate to full member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum made K.A. Abdullayev a member of the Central Committee and elected him as candidate member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum promoted T.K. Aytmukhambetov, U. Baygeldiyev, G.Ye. Yesmukanov, V.I. Yefimov, Yu.A. Klochkov, G.N. Korotenko, and Sh. Shardarbekov from candidate to full member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

V.N. Krikhunov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, and Ye.A. Novozhilov, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum's work.

Kazakh Decree on Commission Chairmen Published
LD2303105789 Alama-Ata SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN in Kazakh 11 Mar 89 p 4

["Decree" of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium on the chairmen of the permanent commissions of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium issued in Alma-Ata on 10 March; signed by M. Sagdiyev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and S. Nurpeyisov, secretary of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium]

[Text] Regarding the chairmen of the permanent commissions of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium:

The Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

Deputy Vladimir Grigor'yevich Manankov is elected chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Industry, Transport, and Production of Consumer Goods;

Deputy Yuriy Kirillovich Krasikov is elected chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Construction and Construction Materials Industry;

Deputy Sharipbek Shardarbekov is elected chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Municipal Housing and Road Work and People's Services;

Deputy Vladimir Rafailovich Krasnyanskiy is elected chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Health Care and Social Security;

Deputy Kasimbek Mediyev is elected chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for People's Education, Sciences, and Culture;

Deputy Sharip Omar-ogly Omarov is elected chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for the Work of Young People.

[Signed] M. Sagdiyev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

[Signed] S. Nurpeyisov, secretary of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, City of Alma-Ata, 10 March 1989

*** Workers at Kazakhstan Steel Foundry Shop Strike**
18300454 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by A. Akava (Ust-Kamenogorsk): "Such a Difficult Lesson"]

[Text] The shop at formed steel foundry No 3 at Vostok-mashzavod has "rebelled." This began when the workers sent a number of demands to the association's administration. "In the event that they are not met," they announced in writing, "on 20 February we shall declare a strike."

They tried to speak with the collective and persuade them that labor conflicts are not resolved through force. And it seems that with this they considered the incident to have ended. In any case when on 20 February the foundry workers actually did stop work, it was something unexpected for the management.

"We did not think that things would go that far"—this is approximately what I was told later by the director of Vostokmashzavod, L. Parfenov, who, incidentally, was elected to this post quite recently.

The new association director was given a difficult legacy. In the past year Vostokmashzavod had failed to deliver 6 million rubles' worth of products and had ended up in an extremely difficult financial position. The overexpenditure of the wage fund amounted to 800,000 rubles. The collectives of the shops and services could not fulfill the plan. Except for the formed steel foundry, and this must be emphasized, the other shops here managed to earn a profit and deposit more than 30,000 rubles into the material incentive fund.

But when the time came for the incentives it turned out that there was nothing with which to pay the leading workers: the association's STK [technical control sector] decided to help the enterprise break out of debt and to "pump" all of the material incentive fund into the wage fund. Thus they deprived the foundry workers of their bonuses, their additional pay for overtime work, and their 13th wage.

"And that is the most offensive thing," one of them told me. "Others spoil the plan and they receive the same amount of money as we do."

Many other things offended them as well. So many times they had complained about the harsh working conditions—all to no avail. For an entire year all they heard in response were promises. The air in the shop is filled with gas, the ventilation is poor, even though it roars like a jet engine. They tried to turn it off but the labor safety service displayed "concern": it is forbidden! They were told: wear earplugs. Where—on their helmets? So nothing changed....

The promises of all the earthly goods with the introduction of khozraschet [economic accountability] also turned out to be unfounded. The wages of the leaders here were not made dependent on the final results of the collective's work. The workers think that even the bonuses go to the engineering and technical personnel in any event. There is no plan for gross output—there is, for example, such a thing as fulfillment of export deliveries or an especially urgent order from the ministry.

But the workers' earnings are directly linked to the plan. And they do not even know how the khozraschet system works or how each of them can influence the plan.

The basis of the mistrust is a lack of knowledge. This was quite obviously shown by the numerous and lengthy conversations held during those ill-starred days when the furnaces stood idle and the people, shift after shift, walked through the shop without going to work. I heard those conversations and was amazed: for long ago it would have been possible to discuss all this calmly without having tempers flare. Now it was much more difficult to reach an agreement, and the people with their quick tempers do not want to listen to everything. For example, they made the demand to increase wages for those employed in the most difficult areas. The response to this was: on an average for the shop the wages have increased anyway. The steel smelters were indignant: "We have not noticed!"

But what is really happening? A steel smelter stands at the furnace and high above him, above the roof, "hangs" a crane operator. They both breathe the same "air" and it is quite right to raise the wages of workers in auxiliary occupations. Today they receive almost as much as do the steel smelters who themselves have included them in the brigade "as equals."

Are the workers wrong? But the administration is also wrong: as long as these working conditions exist in the shop equalizing is inevitable, and yet it should not be. They need clean air—and everyone should be paid according to his qualifications and his work.

Or another question. The workers think it is necessary to raise the price of their products because the initial raw material has become more expensive.

"No, it has not," explained the association's director, L. Parfenov. "Our associated workers tried to improve their own well-being at our expense but they were rebuffed."

Again, unfortunately, one must state that extremely abstract discussions about a radical reform are being held with the workers. It is no wonder that the managers complain that the workers actually try to get out of economic training. But when there was a concrete appeal to put the shop under contract, the answer was serious and cautious: we must think about it.

And another question came to me all the time when I was there. The foundry workers prepared for 10 days to stop work. What were the party, trade union, and Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations of the plant and shop doing all this time? Why did they allow the conflict to become heated and why did they not take charge of the situation?

Today we are reaping the fruits of the system within whose framework Vostokmashzavod worked for many years. It is difficult for everyone to change over to economic management methods. But here, judging from everything, it has proceeded in secret as well, without the participation of the entire collective in this complicated

breakdown. It is good that everyone drew the correct conclusions from the flaring up of emotions: problems that arise must be discussed, but in a calm setting with mutual interest.

While the newspaper was going to press an announcement came in: yesterday, on their day off, the workers of the third shift decided to go to work and make up for the losses that had been caused. Any way you look at it, they dealt a blow to their enterprise at the very moment when it was about to get on its feet. A day of idle time of the shop cost the association more than 60,000 rubles. It cost Vostokmashzavod dearly to teach the foundry workers the fundamentals of economics during the course of the clarification of relations with the administration. Khozraschet that has bogged down somewhere in the management areas, neglected technical equipment, confused accounting—these heavy costs of command management methods must be overcome jointly: by the collective and by management. Therefore the association has taken a firm course toward enlisting the workers in the solutions to the broadest range of production problems.

We also learned something else: the material incentive fund will be returned to the steel foundry workers. The collective of the entire association worked fairly well in January and now, if possible, it will pay back this debt.

Money must be earned. There is no other way of improving the well-being of the society as a whole and each person individually. It is a pity that the communists of the shop and plant were unable to bring this simple and clear truth to the awareness of the masses in time. Just as they were unable to make a correct understanding of the process of democratization of the economy—a direct consequence of the development of khozraschet relations—the property of each worker. And yet all the necessary “measures” are earmarked in the plans of the party committee....

Apparently the Ust-Kamenogorsk city and Eastern Kazakhstan Oblast party committees will evaluate according to principle everything this incident revealed. Avoiding hasty conclusions, here they have decided to investigate attentively the factors motivating such an unusual form of protest and its deep-lying causes. We are all learning about democracy, and far from every lesson is simple and easy to understand.

*** Kirghiz Seismologist Predicts Major Earthquake**
18200270 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 18 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with F. Yudakhin, director of the Institute of Seismology of the KiSSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of geological-mineralogical sciences, by V. Yurlov: “What Lurks in the Quiet Zone?”]

[Text] The attention of Kirghizia's seismologists is now riveted upon the central part of the Chuyskaya depression. Around the clock, they monitor the behavior of the

bowels of the Earth, and how the tension is growing within them. Our correspondent asked F. Yudakhin, director of the Institute of Seismology of the KiSSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of geological-mineralogical sciences, to comment upon the situation. Before beginning the conversation, the scientist displayed a map speckled with black triangles. He outlined in pencil a small section, bordered to the south of Kirghizia by the mountain range, to the east, by the city of Tokmak and to the west, by the village of Belovodskoye.

[Yurlov] Feliks Nikolayevich, to be frank, the oval you have just drawn tells me nothing other than the fact that it includes the republic's capital.

[Yudakhin] The black triangles are seismic stations which register a sharp magnification of weak earthquakes. In the last three or four years, their number has grown approximately five-fold, but the energy released by them has decreased. This is an indication that a process of accumulation of stress is taking place. Thus, a discharge is inevitable—an earthquake.

[Yurlov] But why in this particular area?

[Yudakhin] To the west of this area in 1885 occurred the 9-10 point Belovodskoye earthquake. To the east, a half century later followed the Kemino-Chuyskoye earthquake, measuring 8-9 points. We are located in the zone of a so-called seismic fault. But this is one single fracture. And if the discharge of stress occurred at both ends, not even simultaneously, it means that the next cataclysm will occur between them. Japanese and American scientists also mark such seismic “windows”. The picture is the same everywhere. Some specialists feel that in some areas, the periodicity of “subterranean storms” is about 100 years. Of course, this figure should be accepted with a certain margin of error. But note that after the Belovodskoye earthquake near Frunze, there were no strong earthquakes over the course of a century. And in the meantime, from the north and south of the republic's capital, there are zones of possible potentially destructive cataclysms.

[Yurlov] Our newspaper has frequently discussed the prediction of earthquakes, the set of indications which allow the fateful blow to be divined, the so-called harbingers. Do you follow them?

[Yudakhin] One of our audit deformeters registers the most minute compression and tension of the Earth's crust. The apparatus is now behaving abnormally. Incidentally, it registered the last two earthquakes, in February and March, accurately.

The apparatus which indicates recent changes in the inclination of the Earth's surface in our region has also been behaving abnormally. The electrical resistance of mountain rock has begun to change significantly. This has not been noted in years. Chemical-hydrological anomalies have appeared, specifically, the radon content

has declined sharply; this is the typical picture for mountain rocks under compression. Associates from the institute have seen marmots in the snow, even while sleeping. Here and there, field mice have abandoned their burrows.

[Yurlov] But can you assert with confidence that this whole set of harbingers testifies to the possibility of a powerful earthquake?

[Yudakhin] Yes. We consider this to be the activation of the zone we delineated in our long-range prediction back in 1986. That prediction was made officially. In addition, we recommended that all buildings be modified to be seismically resistant, that weak and decrepit buildings be reinforced, and that all gas and electric networks and toxic storage places be put in order. After all, short circuits, fires, and gas leaks can make the elimination of an earthquake's consequences extraordinarily complicated. Judging by the long-range prediction, an earthquake may occur within a year's time. I would not attempt to pinpoint this to a certain week; the time spread could be significant.

[Yurlov] The readers will probably understand your caution, but they will hardly be satisfied with such an indefinite answer.

[Yudakhin] Unfortunately, there can be no other answer; a short-term prediction is extraordinarily complex and has no claim of 100 percent reliability. Believe me, this is not only society's fear. For example, we expected the earthquake that occurred 24 February. The prediction commission convened on the eve of the earthquake; each of its members had to answer just two questions straightforwardly: how he assessed the current situation and should the republic's government be warned of an imminent earthquake? Everyone evaluated the situation as dangerous, but differed in their opinions as to whether it was worthwhile to notify the government, since the shock would not be major. This is exactly what happened: The force at the epicenter was 6 points, and in Frunze, 4 points.

Yet even if the seismologists gave exact predictions, I am afraid they would be less effective than anticipated. The unfortunate thing is that the population has a poor conception of what to do in an earthquake. True, the American book, "The Unstable Ground" discusses this. But it was published in a small edition, and went somewhere into the immense expanses of our homeland, although it was needed first and foremost in the seismically dangerous areas. There are three or four more such books of which people do not know, despite the fact that for the residents of central Asia they should be coffee-table books.

[Yurlov] How do you regard the idea of teaching the population the rules for behavior during earthquakes? For the beginning, at least, in Frunze?

[Yudakhin] I'd vote for it twice. The civil defense service could do this. We are now offering them a specially worked out pamphlet; they will publish it as a separate brochure. Other measures will be undertaken. It is inappropriate to panic now, but we cannot fall into some kind of tranquillity. A sense of psychological preparedness for natural disaster must be supplemented by knowledge of what to do in an extreme situation.

'Informals' at Khabarovsk Rally Criticized
PM2303170589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 22 Mar 89 First Edition p 1

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Usoltsev report: "Windbags From 'Trudoden,' or What the 'Informals' Were Hoping To Achieve at Rally in Khabarovsk"]

[Text] "They've rigged it!"— I thought when as yet another speaker grabbed the microphone and began to urge the residents of Khabarovsk who had gathered for the rally not only not to vote for Lieutenant General V. Novozhilov, commander of the Red Banner Far Eastern Military District, and V. Pasternak, first secretary of Khabarovsk Party Kraykom, but also to endeavor to ensure that...the Army switches to complete self-sufficiency. The speaker did not say how this is to be done but merely stated:

"We've had enough of feeding the Army, it should provide its own food!"

Our comrade has probably never served in the Army, otherwise he would know that virtually every troop unit has its subsidiary farms, which produce tonnes of meat and vegetables every year, which are then handed over to the state under proper procedure. But this is all certainly just a good aid in resolving the food problem. In order to fully ensure his own food supply, a soldier going out into the field would have to take pigs or heifers out to pasture and try to successfully combine the duties of motorized rifleman or tank crewman with those of a shepherd. He would have to cultivate vegetables on his own patch instead of studying in class and training on simulators.

There was no point in establishing via the military commissariat whether or not the speaker had served in the Army since he did not give his surname. This went for most of the speakers at last Sunday's rally by the monument to the Far Eastern partisans in Khabarovsk. But as I listened to the speeches, I could not help thinking that they constituted blatant attacks on the Army and the local leadership and an outpouring of personal grievances and emotions instead of a debate.

For instance, a man who looked something of a bumpkin mounted the rostrum. He said that he was a native of Khabarovsk and a worker.

"A worker!" a man standing next to me said indignantly. "He's a vagabond and a demagogue."

"You could abuse anyone that way," my other neighbor bristled.

"I know him well, this windbag is named Yuriy Mikhaylovich Reznichenko. If I'm not mistaken, before he got a job in our organization as an apartment block manager, he'd had 13 jobs."

"Yet you say he's a vagabond?"

"Yes, he is," my neighbor repeated, "because he was dismissed for making a mess of the job and dishonesty after a critical report in the kray newspaper. He's now a fish trader at the market."

I did not listen to what the interlocutors said next but tried to understand what this "worker" was after. He wanted "absolute equality," which will not be achieved with "functionaries like Pasternak and Novozhilov" in power.

"They live in houses with two entrances. You don't know which they'll use to come in and which to go out. Why do they hide from the people," the speaker inquired pathetically.

He persistently put forward the idea that the local elite is linked with the military because the city and kray leaders live in buildings belonging to the quarters and utility unit.

The houses where the local leaders, including the district command, live do indeed have two entrances. But this is only because the buildings are old and the blueprints merely happened to provide for two entrances. Who is in a better position to know this than a former block manager?

Moreover, like the other speakers, he could not resist using the notorious "bullying by seniors" to berate the Army.

Is the Army not part of society, do the 18-year-olds who have already gotten "high" on various narcotics, who cannot imagine a day without booze, and who have already had several clashes with the law land from Mars in order to serve in it?

It seems that the rally's organizers did not think of this when they called upon their representatives to speak. Just as they, obviously, did not reckon on Petty Officer S. Obertyshev, who was on leave, taking the floor. A former Leningrad student, he told the gathering the truth about the Army and his personal thoughts on the deputies. Unlike many of the speakers, he adduced proof and was not proceeding on the basis of personal ambition. Admittedly, attempts were made to interrupt him, but the organizers of the rally nevertheless had to allow the petty officer to complete his speech. He may have been heard out, but was he heeded? The same went for the opinions of Lieutenant Colonel T. Leshchev and other

comrades who adopted a different stance from the initiators of the rally. There was interminable heckling and bawling in the true sense of these words, even when the speaker was a neutral comrade, such as Yu. Lykov, who urged his fellow townspeople to carefully consider the candidates' programs and vote for the worthiest people.

All this attested that the rally's organizers had no intention of tolerating "dissidence." Otherwise you would not have heard abuse and insults from the rostrum regarding the candidate deputies. The homemade posters "Freedom Is the Right To Argue" and "Freedom Is the Right To Oppose" would not have meant the right to hooliganism and anarchy.

It is possibly time to name the rally's organizers. They were the "Trudoden" sociopolitical club. I succeeded in finding out that its action group contains students, cooperative workers, and people from other professions. I do not want to reproach them for coming to the monument, voicing their opinions, and calling on people to vote for certain candidates. It is just that the tone and substance of the debate were far from desirable. Any "dissenting speakers" had to speak amid whistles, heckling, and laughter. Moreover, people standing on the rostrum set the example.

The years of stagnation and, to be frank, today's shortage of food and apartments, have bred mistrust of the representatives of the authorities. Yet this mistrust should not be extended to all leaders and every senior official. During the rally I and many people present had the impression that "Trudoden" had succumbed to ambition and could not escape from it. Just because a candidate deputy occupies a lofty post, he will do nothing for the people, for his own voters, and his native area. The leaders and members of this informal association cannot understand that there is no need to look at the post, just at the man in question and his business qualities.

On the other hand the townspeople who came to the rally rapidly grasped everything. They stood for a minute or two and listened to the unsubstantiated speeches by the "informal" speakers and then continued on their way. For there have always been many windbags. Unfortunately, we also have enough of them now, during the period of restructuring.

More Attention to Developing Ethnography Urged
PM2203102989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Letter from O. Bronnikova, Yu. Karpov, A. Kurbanov, V. Kurylev, and R. Rakhimov, staffers at the USSR Academy of Sciences N.N. Miklukho-Maklay Ethnography Institute: "Where Are the Ethnographers?"]

[Text] The recent exacerbation of interethnic relations and even the emergence in our country of areas of interethnic conflict have fully revealed not just the

shortcomings in national building policy that were allowed to occur in past decades, but sometimes the fact that people are unprepared on a statewide level to competently and rapidly resolve the issues that arise. A considerable degree of blame for the prevailing situation is also borne by the science that is called upon to study the history and culture of the peoples of our multinational state and foreign countries. This science is ethnography—the subject of our professional activity.

In taking some of the blame, we wish to state that our science should not be regarded merely as a museum piece. After all, during all the former years, ethnographers submitted reports to the USSR Council of Ministers on the difficulties that had long arisen in the socioeconomic life of Nagorno-Karabakh and parts of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the north, and the Far East. But the overwhelming majority of these documents, which not only stated the problems but also contained recommendations for resolving them, disappeared without a trace, prompting no practical action. Only now is our institute receiving new requests from people who have obviously forgotten that that numerous files of such documents are already gathering dust somewhere.

But our problem is that there is a catastrophic shortage of us specialist ethnographers. Through your newspaper we want to suggest that the USSR Academy of Sciences review the existing quota for the development of ethnography at academic institutions. It ought to be recognized that the country needs the work of a well-organized ethnographic service.

*** Cab Drivers Demand Assault, Robbery Crackdown**
18000682 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Mar 89 p 4

[TASS report: "Cab Drivers for Safety"]

[Text] More than 200 taxis gathered yesterday morning in the area of Minin and Pozharskiy in the city of Gorkiy where the drivers made demands to meet with city leaders and the internal affairs administration of the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee].

The automotive transportation workers decided to resort to this fairly nontraditional form of appeal because recently there have been more frequent cases of assaults on drivers, seizure of vehicles, and extortion of money from cab drivers by criminal groups active in the city. Because of this the drivers of two cab associations have been afraid to go out on their routes in the evening and at night, and many of them have been released.

The first secretary of the CPSU gorkom [city party committee] Yu. Marchenkov, the chairman of the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] V. Bedyakshin, the chief of the internal affairs administration, Police Col V. Potapov, the oblast prosecutor Yu. Shcherbakov, and other party and soviet officials showed up at the meeting with the cab drivers. In order not to disturb the movement of public transportation, the meeting was

held by mutual agreement in the conference hall of the internal affairs administration, where more than 500 people gathered. For 2 hours there was a discussion of the abnormal operating situation in the city, and dozens of examples were given of hooligan acts against drivers, as well as examples of a negligent attitude on the part of certain police workers toward the reports and complaints from the drivers.

Such a situation did not develop in the city all at once. Quite recently in a meeting of the bureau of the Gorkiy party obkom [oblast party committee] they considered the question of immediate measures for strengthening law and order in the city. It was noted that the proper measures were not being taken to improve legal protection of citizens or to step up the fight against violators of public order. The level and growth rates of crime remain high. In the bureau they also discussed the appreciably worsened situation on the streets and in public places, including at taxi stands.

At the meeting of the internal affairs administration they declared a need for additional and coordinated measures on the part of leaders of the city, legal protection agencies, and social organizations. After this the cabs went back out onto the streets of the city.

In the evening there was an extraordinary joint meeting of the bureau of the party gorkom and the ispolkom [executive committee] of the city soviet at which they condemned the situation that had developed. It was decided to step up the preservation of public order through additional patrolling and the creation of worker police detachments.

AP Story on Resumed Radio Jamming Denied
PM2303164989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[A. Vasin report: "Once More About Jamming. AP's Latest Misleading Report"]

[Text] In the last few days Washington newspapers carried a sensational news report attributed to AP: On 13 March the Russians resumed the jamming of Western radio voices. One could imagine the conclusions about the nature of glasnost and faith in Moscow's statements that could be drawn on the basis of this report. After all, it was announced not so long ago that the Soviet Union was terminating its jamming. This was correctly appraised as yet another tangible result of our society's policy of glasnost and openness. And now this report....

"Nothing of the sort!," A.M. Varbanskiy, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Communications, Space and Radio Communications Main Administration, declared. "We have terminated jamming. It is a different matter that, starting on 14 March, the equipment previously used for jamming started shortwave relays of union republic programs to Moscow. Maybe this is what confused the AP correspondent. But these broadcasts can in

no way block reception of Western radio stations. In the event of broadcasting frequencies used by different stations coinciding (and this can happen), these stations communicate with each other through the International Radio Frequencies Committee of the International Telecommunication Union in Geneva.

"We have yet to make a final decision on what to do with all the capacities released following the termination of jamming. It has already been reported in the press that we are studying the question of applying them within the State Geosystem of Shortwave Communications and that the possibility of using them as a base to set up an advertising radio channel has not been ruled out. The State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting was recently approached by the Society of the Blind with a request to organize continuous broadcasting for the society's members. In other words, there are no end of opportunities, and the former jamming facilities will not be left to stand idle."

Religious Persecution Alleged; Official Comments
PM1603114789

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 March 1989 Morning Edition carries on page 6 a letter from A. Andreyev of Novgorod under the "Editor's Mailbag" rubric. In the letter, headed "'The Thing Is, I'm a Believer....,'" he tells of his dismissal from a Novgorod school apparently for reading the Bible during his lunch break, while never having "advertised" his belief or engaged in "religious agitation" during lessons. "Having considerable experience of work in the education system," the letter continues, "I could not bring myself to stay. Ultimately it would have benefited neither me nor my superiors, of course." He says that colleagues in Moscow and Leningrad who are believers are allowed to get on with their work and are not harassed. "Why, in the provinces," he asks, "is it deemed a matter of honor to persecute people of different persuasions?" He appends to the letter a note to the effect that he supplied his real name, but asked for the pseudonym to be used in order to protect his friends.

The letter is followed by an "Official View":

"The writer of the letter asks a specific question. We thought that the answer should be equally specific and clear—in the spirit of the glasnost that has come to our society. And as authoritative as possible. Here is what Z. Sharipov, chief of the Organization and Methods Department of the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers, has to say about A. Andreyev's letter:

"Our council also gets letters like this from believers. I will say right away that there has never been any ban in our state on jobs for believers. For many years, though, obstacles have secretly been placed in the way of believers. There have been people, including officials, who, acting on the basis of their 'revolutionary consciousness,'

have treated believers as 'second-class citizens.' But if a person does not conduct religious propaganda, if he keeps his faith to himself, and it helps him, as the writer of the letter says, to live and to be a better person—can this do us any harm?

"It is clear from the letter that A. Andreyev left education himself, aware that unpleasantness lay in store for him. Although the Constitution says that people in our state will not be persecuted for their beliefs, all kinds of things have been happening, as we said before, in recent years. But times have now changed. And the very publication of A. Andreyev's letter speaks for itself. So my unequivocal answer is: He has every right to work as a teacher, in his particular specialty. And no one can refuse to admit him to a teacher's post if there are vacancies, even if A. Andreyev makes no bones about being a believer.

"It is a significant fact that current legislation makes it a criminal offense to 'refuse to give a citizen a job or to admit him to an educational establishment, to dismiss him from work or expel him from an educational establishment, to deprive him of benefits or advantages laid down by the law, or impose other significant restrictions on citizens' rights because of religious attitudes' (RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 18 March 1966 resolution 'On the Application of Article 142 of the RSFSR Criminal Code').

"The law protects the rights of all believers living in our country. Their active involvement in restructuring processes and public life is also evidenced by the fact that a number of prominent religious figures were named as candidates during the preparations for the election of USSR people's deputies."

New Newspaper Published by Gorkiy Journalists
*LD1603182289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0300 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Summary] The first edition of the newspaper KURER, published by the board of the Gorkiy Oblast organization of the USSR Union of Journalists, has come out in a print run of about 40,000. It will come out bimonthly, and its main task is to draw the attention of the people of Gorkiy to the work of the oblast's public organizations.

Scientific

'Cosmos-2007' Satellite Launched 23 Mar
*LD2403073589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0720 GMT 24 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, 24 Mar (TASS)—Another artificial Earth satellite, "Cosmos-2007" was launched in the Soviet Union on Thursday [23 March] by the rocket launcher "Soyuz." The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters:

initial period of revolution, 89.1 mins; apogee, 300 km; perigee, 190 km; orbital inclination, 64.8 deg.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

Experiments Continue on 'Mir' Space Station
*LD2403104589 Moscow TASS in English 1028 GMT
24 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from mission control centre: The crew of the Soviet space station Mir (Peace) will carry out maintenance operations and astrophysical and medical experiments today.

The cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov are continuing their endurance mission on board the orbital complex.

Using the magnetic spectrometer "Maria", the crew are conducting a cycle of experiments to study mechanisms of the generation of high-energy particles in the earth's radiation belts and near-earth space.

Under the international project "Roentgen", the cosmonauts will conduct five sessions observing the centre of the galaxy with a view to mapping out the area within an X-ray range.

Polyakov will undergo an all-round examination of his blood circulation system.

The cosmonauts will have days-off on Saturday and Sunday.

Military

Gromov Interviewed on Afghanistan, New Posting
*PM2303103389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3*

[Interview in Kiev with Lieutenant General B. Gromov, commander of Kiev Military District, by own correspondent N. Baklanov under the rubric "Names and Events": "District Commander Boris Gromov: 'I Am Getting Used to Peaceful Life'"; date not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] Lieutenant General B. Gromov, hero of the Soviet Union—the same 45-year-old Army commander who was the last to leave Afghan territory approximately 1

month ago, thereby completing the Soviet troop withdrawal from that country—has been appointed commander of the Red Banner Kiev Military District.

Although the commander has now swapped his dappled camouflage jacket for a uniform blouse with a general's shoulder straps, and our meeting took place in the spacious office of the Kiev Military District Staff, the conversation at once turned to Afghanistan and the complex situation taking shape there....

[Gromov] In my view, there are several key aspects determining the military-political situation which has now taken shape there. First, that country's government and Armed Forces, to which we long gave military support, have now been left one-on-one with the enemy. Second, the Geneva agreements have so far been fulfilled only by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, while Pakistan and the United States are violating their adopted pledges by giving tremendous aid to the rebels.

It is hard to say how events will develop now in Afghanistan. But the month that has elapsed since the Soviet troop withdrawal has shown that our allies are independently capable of holding onto their positions.

[Baklanov] What is your attitude to the present policy being implemented not only in our country but also in a number of other socialist countries regarding the reduction of armed forces and military budgets?

[Gromov] I only welcome this. But this is a complex question affecting not only the military but also all of society. For we are talking of the destinies of a large number of people—officers and their families—who will have to make a new start in life, encountering problems of securing jobs and housing. This is why I am gladdened in a purely human way by the attention which the party and the government are giving to resolving this problem.

About the strength and composition of the Army. They must be such as to be able to deal a rebuff to any potential enemy during the initial, most difficult period of possible military operations.

[Baklanov] Boris Vsevolodovich, you have been nominated as a candidate USSR people's deputy by the labor collectives of Chernigov Oblast's Prilukskiy Rayon. A few words about your program.

[Gromov] My program is based on theses concerning, above all, the motherland's defense capability and protection. I also wholly support the platform with which our party is approaching the elections. To speak about specific points in my program, I would mention among them enhancing the prestige of service in the Armed Forces among young people and improving the training of youths for this important and responsible work. And, because I have been nominated by Prilukskiy Rayon's working people, their cares and problems are undoubtedly of concern to me.

[Baklanov] Many soldiers who have returned from Afghanistan experience various kinds of difficulties on returning to normal peaceful life. Are you encountering a similar problem?

[Gromov] Of course. For we were all constantly under a colossal strain for a long time. When the troop withdrawal was complete, we felt as though a mountain had fallen off our shoulders. On the other hand, new and quite different affairs and concerns have arisen in life, and it is not easy to get used to them. I judge from my own experience that it is hard to adapt. But this can be speeded up. The chief thing is to become absorbed as quickly as possible in resolving new tasks, and not to be a nonparticipatory "guest of honor."

[Baklanov] Were your opinion and wishes taken into account when you were appointed to your new post as commander of Kiev Military District?

[Gromov] It is not customary for military men to discuss these matters. Of course, I am very proud and glad in a human way to have been appointed to this high post. At the same time I feel a great responsibility. For there is a mass of tasks, the chief one being to ensure that the troops are always ready to fulfill their purpose.

Snetkov Interviewed on Armed Forces Cuts
PM2303165589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 23 Mar 89 First Edition p2

[Interview with Army General B. Snetkov, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, by Colonel A. Vasilets, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, under the rubric "Combat Readiness: Parameters of Quality": "In the Conditions of the Cuts"—date and place not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] As is well known, six tank divisions are to be withdrawn from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary and subsequently disbanded by 1991 on the basis of an agreement with our allies. In addition to this, assault landing forces and a number of other formations and units, including assault river-crossing personnel, are to be removed from the Soviet groups of forces in these countries, together with their arms and military equipment. How are the preparations going for the implementation of the decisions? This was the question with which our correspondent began his conversation with Army General B. Snetkov, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

[Snetkov] First of all I would like to draw attention to the scale of the work to be undertaken. Two of our divisions, some training tank regiments, and other units must be withdrawn from the territory of the GDR this year. This is not a simple task, I will be frank. After all, we are going to have to transfer a lot of equipment, various material resources, and, of course, people.

The work is on schedule. A great deal has already been done. The railroad cars and containers have been ordered and schedules drawn up for the transport of the echelons. Everything has to be taken into consideration, including, for example, when to dispatch the first trains with people. After all, many of the officers have children who are studying in school. If we sent them off before the end of the academic year, this would create additional difficulties for the families concerned. The matter has been decided as follows: No family is to be sent from the group of forces before the end of classes in schools.

While considering people's interests and resolving the social and other problems which arise, we also cannot forget that the point of our being here has not changed. We are still expected to defend the achievements of socialism. This task is made more complicated in the present situation: The four divisions and number of units to be withdrawn from the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany are still a real force, and a considerable force at that. What is more, the remaining units and formations will be reorganized. It is quite clear that, in these conditions, we will have to work hard to ensure that the combat ability of the group of forces is up to the present requirements. Work is being done in this direction everywhere. It is hard to guarantee that there will not be any flaws in this work, especially as some flaws are apparent already. But we will endeavor to ensure that they are kept to a minimum.

[Vasilets] There is something else I would also like to ask. What is proposed to be done to maintain combat capability at the proper level?

[Snetkov] I have already said that we cannot forgo combat capability. But the transition of the divisions remaining in GDR territory to a defensive structure—and in this respect the number of tanks will be considerably reduced—and the withdrawal of tactical nuclear systems from the group of forces, together with assault landing and assault river-crossing subunits and their arms and equipment, will, of course, require the revision of some views on combat training. The reduction in the forces' offensive potential presupposes increased attention to their training from the point of view of defense.

This task will primarily be solved by ensuring the qualitative parameters of combat readiness. In particular, with regard to arms this will be apparent in the increased number of antitank systems and artillery in the remaining divisions. With regard to tactics, greater importance will be attached than before to the engineer equipment of positions and defense regions. As a whole, the emphasis in troop training will be on the perfection of issues connected with troop defense operations.

I must point out that in this respect we have to overcome a certain psychological barrier—some commanding officers still underestimate the importance of these matters. We recently checked the progress of combat training

in one division. And what did the exercise show? Engineering work is often carried out simply for show rather than for battle, while the relief of the area is poorly exploited for the purpose of improving defense....

It goes without saying that an important role in ensuring the high quality of combat training is played by improving training methods and the organization of the training process. A determined struggle is being waged against the practice whereby personnel are removed from systematic combat training, and against wastefulness and the irrational use of time and material resources. All this requires the decisive strengthening of discipline and order in the units and subunits and also improvements in the training material and technical base. For example, all moving target tank gunnery ranges and troop firing ranges have been reequipped in line with the requirements of our defensive doctrine.

These are all organizational measures, so to speak. They are very important, of course. But it is no less important to rid ourselves of such shortcomings as oversimplification in training and a stereotyped approach to its organization.

I recently heard a report from one commanding officer at a training exercise. His speech was glib. But when he was invited to the map and asked to explain his decision in a slightly different situation, he simply lost his head. On another occasion, after an equally glib report accompanied by a beautifully drawn map, I invited the commanding officer to actually go to the position and see how his plan had been put into effect. And the result? On a tactical level, he was not prepared.

Unfortunately, many commanding officers still overlook a simple fact—a stereotyped approach to the organization of combat operations inevitably leads to defeat. It is not so easy to cultivate a creative approach to working with people or original ways of thinking. You become particularly convinced of this when you conduct exercises with regiment commanders. You have to use the whole of your experience, including frontline experience.

Of course, the commander in chief must concern himself with instructing commanders of a higher rank. But contact with commanding officers at regiment level is not closed to us. Especially as they are largely responsible for troop training. We will be unable either to bring this training up to a new qualitative level or to bring the tactics of units and formations into line with the requirements of our defense doctrine if we do not apply ourselves very resolutely to the professional training of those who are the direct organizers and leaders of combat training among the troops. And the most important figure in this respect, as is well known, is the regiment commander.

[Vasilets] The disbandment and reorganization of units and formations will affect the lives of many people, primarily officers and warrant officers and members of

their families. Will we not find ourselves in a situation when some people bear a grudge against the Army? What is going to happen, for example, to the personnel of the tank divisions due to be disbanded?

[Snetkov] First of all, some of the officers, who have completed their term of service, will be discharged in the established procedure. The remainder will be transferred to military districts within the Soviet Union [vnutrenniye okrug]. The soldiers and sergeants will be withdrawn in full. At the same time, we have been given the right to retain some officers for service in our units. We will hand over the tanks to specially appointed inspectors. We have also taken the trouble to accommodate the families of the officers who will be going to the places where the divisions are to be disbanded. Good, business-like ties have been established with the local authorities.

Political bodies and party, Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], and other social organizations are expected to play an important role in the solution of many of the problems facing us in connection with the cuts in the Armed Forces. They must vigilantly monitor observance of the principle of social justice, protect people against arbitrariness, and promptly inform higher bodies of cases of a callous, bureaucratic attitude to people and of errors and violations. When solving the tasks connected with the troop reductions, it is very important to consider the fate of everyone discharged with care, attention, and consideration and observance of legality, to take their needs and wishes into account, and to take care to ensure that, on leaving the military system, people do not go away inwardly offended, only to speak badly of their service in the Army later on.

[Vasilets] The divisions due to be disbanded include units with a wealth of traditions and a considerable number of orders on their combat standards. There are subunits whose registers hold the names of Heroes of the Soviet Union forever. What is going to happen to these units and subunits?

[Snetkov] Of course, we cannot allow combat traditions and heroic feats to be forgotten. No specific decision has been taken on this matter as yet. But I will endeavor to ensure that it aims to preserve the combat standards with orders on them and the names of the heroes in the subunits' registers. I also do not rule out the possibility that some of our glorious standards will augment the collection of standards in the Central Museum of the USSR Armed Forces.

Regarding other units with a wealth of combat traditions, they must—of this I am deeply convinced—be preserved. Take, for example, M.Ye. Katukov, the Chertkovskiy marshal of Armored Tank Troops, Twice Order of Lenin, Order of the Red Banner, Suvorov, Kutuzov, and Bogdan Khmel'nitskiy Guards Tank Regiment. This unit is the father of the Soviet tank guard.

Surely we cannot disband it or dismember it into separate battalions? It would be far more sensible, say, to transfer this regiment to a tank division, thereby preserving the glorious combat traditions of frontline fighters for future generations.

[Vasilets] This is even more important if you think of certain pacifist attitudes....

[Snetkov] I think that attitudes such as these mainly arise in people who do not know the horrors of war and whose only notion of combat operations comes from textbooks, where the red arrows of victory are drawn on historical maps. I was among those people (comparatively few are still alive) who carried these arrows on their shoulders from the Volga and the Caucasus to the west. How heavy these arrows were to bear....

I feel it is intolerable to undermine the authority of the Army in the eyes of the people. This certainly does not mean that I am opposed to criticism of the Armed Forces. We have our shortcomings, which must be brought to light, and constructive criticism will help commanding officers and political workers to overcome these negative phenomena. What I am against is generalizations being made from individual cases and shortcomings which cast a shadow on the title of Soviet soldier.

Many do not understand and do not realize that it is only because of the strength of our defense that not only the peoples of the Soviet Union but the peoples of all Europe have lived under peaceful skies for 5 decades. Today, when the Army is being reduced in size, we have a particularly strong need to strengthen its fighting spirit and its morale. And this largely depends on the ideas and attitude to the fulfillment of their military duty with which young people—who must become soldiers—join its ranks.

A great deal also depends in this respect on the press. It would be good if people who wield a skillful pen and wish to write about the Army could clearly reveal the image of the defender of the motherland and the lofty title of soldier, in which frontline fighters have had and still have such pride. I take this attitude both as a soldier and as a candidate for people's deputy. I believe we should all have a deeper understanding of the great meaning of the sacred duty of defending the motherland in modern conditions and enhance the prestige of the people in military uniform.

But first and foremost, of course, we must work to ensure that they are actually worthy of this prestige.

Kiev Military District Anniversary Commemorated

Shcherbitskiy Attends Ceremony

AU1703191889 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
12 Mar 89 pp 1, 3

[RATAU report: "In the Ranks of the Defenders of the Homeland"]

[Excerpts] The soldiers of the Red Banner Order-decorated Kiev Military District have filled a glorious page in

the history of the USSR Armed Forces. Created to defend the conquests of the revolution, it staunchly repelled the pressure of the White Guards and the interventionists, and took an active part in defeating the hostile invasion against the new Soviet republic. Its units and detachments displayed brilliant examples of heroism during the Great Patriotic War and creditably discharged their internationalist duty. The present generation of the defenders of the homeland is augmenting the combat glory of the fathers and grandfathers. The soldiers of the eighties are continuing the district's heroic chronicle with their martial labor.

On 11 March, the soldiers of the garrison and representatives of the working people of the hero city of Kiev held in the district officers house a solemn meeting to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Red Banner-decorated Kiev Military District.

The meeting was presided over by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; I.G. Grintsov; B.V. Kachura; V.A. Masol; V.S. Shevchenko; and K.I. Masik; Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members; G.I. Revenko, Kiev gorkom first secretary; Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy minister of defense; Lieutenant General G.A. Stefanovskiy, first deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy; generals and officers; veterans of the Civil and the Great Patriotic Wars; internationalist soldiers; the city's prominent laborers; and scientific and cultural figures.

The solemn meeting was opened by Lieutenant General V.A. Sharygin, chief of the district's political directorate. He pointed out that the district's troops had traveled their glorious historical path along with the Ukrainian people. They are also at present working arm in arm to implement party decisions on restructuring all spheres of life in Soviet society and the USSR Armed Forces.

The state anthems of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR were played.

The district's combat banner was brought into the hall.

Lieutenant General B.V. Gromov, hero of the Soviet Union and commander of the troops of the Red Banner Order-decorated Kiev Military District, delivered a report. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Red Banner Order-decorated Kiev Military District, on the same day flowers were placed at the monument to V.I. Lenin. Wreaths were also placed at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the Park of Eternal Glory.

Soldiers Congratulated

AU1703194489 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
11 Mar 89 p 1

[Message addressed by Ukraine's authorities: "To the Kiev District Military Council"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers warmly and cordially congratulate the soldiers of the Red Banner-decorated Kiev Military District on the district's glorious 70th anniversary.

Having stood up to defend the conquests of the October Revolution in the formidable years of the civil war, the district's troops passed over a long heroic path, covered their combat banners with unfading glory, and filled in brilliant pages in the annals of the Soviet Armed Forces. Courage and gallantry displayed by the district's soldiers in the battlefields, in discharging their internationalist duty, and in their intense day-to-day training is an excellent example of loyalty to the Communist Party, of boundless devotion to our socialist homeland.

The people of the Soviet Ukraine will always gratefully treasure in their memories the matchless exploits accomplished by Red Army soldiers in the struggle to establish Soviet rule on the Ukrainian soil, and heroism manifested by soldiers and officers in defending and liberating the republic from the German fascist occupiers. The working people highly value the contribution made by many generations of soldiers toward accomplishing national economic tasks, and toward educating the younger generation in the spirit of immortal Leninist ideas, Soviet patriotism, and proletarian internationalism.

The district's soldiers gave invaluable assistance in eliminating the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. Self-control, faithfulness, and selflessness in accomplishing the complex tasks in the AES [nuclear electric power station] zone have won for them general acknowledgement and respect.

The contacts maintained by military units and training establishments with collectives are strengthening year in and year out, thus embodying the inviolable unity of the Army and the people.

We express the firm conviction that, in implementing the military defense doctrine brought forward by the party, in switching Soviet military construction over to qualitative indexes, and in restructuring the life of the Army, the personnel of the Red Banner Order-decorated Kiev Military District will by all means continue to increase their combat preparedness, to perfect their combat mastery, and to vigilantly guard the peaceful, creative labor of the Soviet people and the achievements of socialism.

We wish you, dear comrades, new great successes in your martial efforts, in discharging your honorable and responsible military duty before our beloved homeland.

[Signed] V. Shcherbitskiy, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and V. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers

Arkhipov Discusses Military Cutbacks, Conversion
PM2303141989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 23 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Warship for Sale. Conversion in the Soviet Union Under Way"]

[Text] In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree published in the press 22 March, the Soviet Union's expenditure on defense needs under the USSR State Budget will be reduced. Army General V.M. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces Rear Services, describes the way the material obtained through arms cutbacks will be redistributed:

"It is well known that one of the provisions of the Warsaw Pact's new defense doctrine notes the expediency of reducing military potentials to the limits of sufficiency necessary for defense. The size of the reductions being implemented in the Soviet Armed Forces is quite considerable. Over a 2-year period their numerical strength will be reduced by 500,000 men, and there will be sizeable reductions of conventional arms. Now there is a partially elaborated plan for the conversion of military production, the utilization of defense industry equipment, buildings, and facilities for civilian production, and the redistribution of material thus released into the national economy.

"I would like to point out that as an initial step the USSR Ministry of Defense prepared and submitted to Gosstab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] a list of materials worth over R500 million to be offered in 1989 for sale to the population, cooperatives, and other organizations through Gosstab territorial organs. Of course, all these materials will be handed over to the national economy without any detriment to the Army's and Navy's combat readiness.

"Thrifty economic managers, once they have studied the list which contains thousands of material items, will find in it much that is necessary for practical activity in the most diverse sectors. Surely kolkhozes [collective farms] and other organizations involved in the fisheries industry and other work at sea will be interested in the Navy's instruments, machinery, and even auxiliary vessels? At what price will they be 'knocked down?' This will be determined by the USSR Gosstab.

"The list contains over 20,000 motor vehicles which are so badly needed by the rural population. Moreover, sufficient quantities of spare parts and components for them will also be supplied.

"More than 2,600 units of equipment for dispensing, transporting, and pumping fuel and lubricants, which have gained an excellent reputation in the forces, will also be offered for sale. This decision will help, even if only partially, to solve the problems existing in this sphere, especially during the summer and fall.

"Surely cooperative members and persons engaged in individual labor activity on repairing and making radio equipment will be interested in the large variety and quantity of diverse microcircuits, transistors, diodes, and other radio and electrical supplies that have already passed military acceptance tests?

"I think that stockmen will be eager to acquire our Army's mobile meat units capable of slaughtering livestock and of dressing and, if necessary, freezing the meat in field conditions.

"In our view, given skillful utilization these and other materials could provide the commodity bulk needed to cover existing shortages to a certain extent. The circulation of these materials in the national economy sphere will give an additional impetus to restructuring."

A TASS correspondent got in touch with USSR Gosnab Deputy Chairman V.N. Konovalov. Here is what he had to say:

"Indeed, we already have a complete list of materials coming in from the USSR Ministry of Defense for sale to the population. Gosnab territorial organs are already receiving it from Army and Navy bases and stores. Sale will begin in the very near future."

Civilian Gives Views on Army Restructuring
PM2303112489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Albert Plutnik article: "The Military Lesson: A Civilian's Polemical Notes on Restructuring in the Army"]

[Text] An example of true peaceability should not be confused with an ordinary staffing cut. If the numerical strength of our Armed Forces is being reduced by 500,000 men, it must be assumed that this is not because manning levels in the Army are excessively inflated and these thousands of men simply have nothing to do.

But perhaps in this case the two things are not mutually exclusive? Perhaps this humane initiative will also help the restructuring within the Army and strengthen our Army by getting rid of surplus manpower?

Surplus manpower in the Army? Who says there is a surplus?

Lieutenant General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, recently admitted in an interview he gave to a newspaper: "In the main those discharged from the Army will be servicemen who have served the stipulated term, as well as those who have stained the honor and dignity of an officer and are not up to their task in terms of political, practical, and moral qualities."

Does this mean that those subject to cuts will mainly be those whom the Army should rid itself of in one way or another? It appears that the specified personnel strength is sometimes maintained in our Armed Forces more or less artificially. This approach is well known to us in civilian life, where leaders often talk a great deal about cutting staffing levels, but do everything to ensure that as many people as possible remain under their control. Even though everyone knows that a large number is by no means always the optimum number. Surplus manpower is a common phenomenon. But surely not in the Army? Surely the Defense Ministry is not just another department, and no stranger to any of the usual characteristics of departments?

It was announced that we are cutting our military budget by 14.2 percent. The degree of accuracy—down to tenths of a percent—is striking. Down to the last kopek, so to speak. Yet none of us can name an accurate figure for our military expenditure, and consequently no one really knows that these percentage points mean in financial terms. Although, because we are well aware that our military department is not hard up, we can safely assume that it is a question of a very substantial sum. And some of our readers are now worried: Are we not weakening our military might, are we not giving way, so to speak, in the face of world imperialism?

Incidentally, this anxiety appears not unfounded if you bear in mind certain striking facts that are cited in the press. Former Afghaners, after being discharged into the reserves, repay from their own pockets damage that was done during the years of service, by no means maliciously. Yet for our illustrious paratroopers it is by no means a simple matter to obtain new boots to replace worn ones. And if the military department stoops so low as to seek a financial settlement from those who, only yesterday, gave their lives in fulfilling their international duty, if its funds are so low that it cannot issue a soldier with a spare pair of boots, then evidently its affairs are in very poor shape. Rather than cutting the budget, it is time to increase it....

Only it is clear to everyone that even if the military budget were halved, problems like the above should not happen—they arise not from poverty, but from disorder.

Speaking at a meeting with USSR Armed Forces General Staff Communists, Army General M.A. Moiseyev, candidate USSR people's deputy, recently appointed chief of General Staff, observed that the reduction of the

military budget is justified both politically and strategically. "At the same time," he stated, "this makes it incumbent on us, on the one hand, to learn to count our money better and be thrifter in our use of the material resources allocated for the training and development of the Armed Forces, and, on the other hand, to more actively seek ways of maintaining defense at a level of reasonable sufficiency within the framework of a reduced budget."

I suppose everyone realizes that in seeking ways to do this we must bear in mind that reforming ideas earn the right to exist only when their implementation does not weaken defense. In reducing personnel we do not expect lower manning levels to mean that the Army becomes a weaker force. Is this utopian? It all depends on the extent to which the Army, for all its different characteristics, can profit from the experience of those civilian areas of production that have fewer people, but are more useful. This is only possible when the optimum form of organization can be found.

Where we go depends largely on where we start from and what we leave behind.

We are becoming an increasingly open society. We are no longer afraid to wash our dirty linen in public, even the Army's linen. What we say about ourselves is no longer confined to things that have long been secrets.

Only recently, when we watched television reports from the West showing how thousands of people protest outside the gates of military bases and near nuclear testing ranges against, for instance, the siting of lethal weapons on the territory of their country, district, or state, for some reason we did not even register the fact that people apparently know where the base or range is located. (And they could hardly fail to know, when there are even road signs saying "military base.") When at the same time we ourselves, the true masters of the country, so to speak, did not have a clue about anything of the kind—in our own country, republic, or oblast. But glasnost and democratization are doing their work. We now know about the missile complex in Udmurtia, in the city of Votkinsk. True, we heard about it when American specialists arrived there—to verify the end of production of a certain class of missiles. We now know something about the military facility at Shikhany, which is on the territory of Saratov Oblast. Alas, only yesterday there were as many military secrets held from our own people as from the "foreign military."

It is not society, not the people, but the departments that have the greatest interest in mysteries and secrecy. In many cases secrets are not merely an insult to society, they are both economically and politically disadvantageous. Remember how agitated the local inhabitants became when they learned that near Chapayevsk, in Kuybyshev Oblast, an enterprise was under construction for the destruction of chemical weapons. When people

are informed about the "secrets" that exist in the neighborhood of their homes, the departments should naturally be prepared for an open discussion. Events at Chapayevsk showed that there is no need to hide from the eyes of outsiders if you have everything in good order behind you. A kind of monitoring organ even sprang up there, including both military men and civilians—representatives of the public. It need hardly be said that now the military men themselves will also be more exacting with regard to the quality of the "facility" under construction, and indeed its operation. The department itself is no longer both the defendant and the judge.

There is no denying that military secrets exist that should remain so while military confrontation persists. And no one is calling for every secret to be revealed forthwith. I am talking about something different: Society should monitor more widely and effectively the decisions of the military department, because these decisions have a marked effect on many things that concern all of us.

The military superdepartment has for too long lived a life that is isolated, so to speak, from society. In effect it informed society only to the extent that it deemed it necessary to do so. We are all learning to live in a world of new realities, we are learning the new thinking, while sometimes unconsciously gravitating toward the old patterns. I read an article by a prominent military specialist. He writes: The regular U.S. Armed Forces have a strength of 2.13 million men. Some 1.16 million serve in the National Guard and the reserve. In all, about 3.3 million men. You wait: Now he will tell us about our Army. Equally clearly and specifically. And he does indeed tell us, but seemingly in a different language: We are reducing the Armed Forces by 12 percent of their strength. In percentage terms, not absolute terms. Yet we all know that this 12 percent is in fact 500,000 servicemen who are being discharged into the reserve. So even a backward fifth-grade student can soon calculate what 100 percent equals, that is, the numerical strength of our Army.

Today, representatives of military circles still have the right to say, in reply to all our questions: We are under no obligation to give an account of ourselves to you. Indeed, they are under no such obligation. To us. But to the Supreme Soviet? I cannot call to mind any hearings being held there at which, on the model of the U.S. Congress, questions connected with financing particular military programs are examined comprehensively and openly every year. Should we perhaps look more carefully at some aspects of "their way of life"? Over there, the Defense Department's budget is published in the press. And also there is the defense secretary's annual report to Congress, which covers in some detail all defense matters and the main provisions of military policy. Naturally, the Americans by no means talk openly about everything, but it is noteworthy that at

present the U.S. public is raising increasingly persistently the matter of the extent of the need for keeping secret even the top secret "black" programs.

Could it be, perhaps, that in our country it is nothing more than a tradition—to allow the Defense Ministry to keep its programs in absolute secrecy? And is it the only such ministry, anyway? What do we know about the activities of other ministries, whose very names are vague and unclear—the Ministry of Medium Machine Building, the Ministry of General Machine Building? If these departments themselves exist more or less in secret, what about the vast complexes that are subordinate to them? No one is supposed to know where they are, they are never mentioned in the newspapers, there are no signs on the buildings, they are not usually discussed aloud. Unless, perhaps, a bus driver, off his guard, suddenly announces: "Next stop—the secret plant."

We grew up and were raised in the conviction that what is good for the Army is good for society, for the people. The people and the Army are one. The Army always wants and strives for what the people want and strive for. And thus everything should give way to its interests. The examples from the times of the Great Patriotic War, which arose in extraordinary circumstances, became established as the norm—for all time. You remember: The fatherland is in danger. The dire necessity of the war years: Everything for the front, everything for victory. That is how it was. All of industry—on a war footing. All the people—reservists. Elderly workers, shortsighted musicians, and unworldly scientists joined the people's militia. Essential! A sacred cause! So the whole people became the Army. And conquered. But then what happened was what should happen in peacetime—the Army became the Army, a small part of the people. And the people's cause was no longer only the military cause. But all "other matters" were, so to speak, subordinate to the military. A kind of hierarchy grew up, military matters were the generals, while other matters held lower ranks—from colonel to private. There was, among other things, a "barely perceptible" substitution of concepts—whereas formerly people used to speak of the total fusion of interests of the Army and people, now it appeared that the Defense Ministry, which is intended to represent the Army's interests, seemingly represents the interests of the whole people.

Even in peacetime, no longer constrained by extreme circumstances, we sometimes remained true to the traditions of "devout sacrifices for the sake of our victory."

Tell me, whose idea was it to draft students into the Army? And when? Not in the fateful forties—but in the stagnant seventies. Teaching a student with a break for Army service is like interrupting him in mid-word and expecting him to finish the sentence 2 years later. What kind of people are the VUZ's [higher educational institutions] producing as a result, when even before, without a "break in studies," the quality of training was not

particularly good. And this at a time when it is vitally important to us to overcome in the shortest possible time our laggardness in relation to the developed countries, when we cannot do without a major leap forward in the sphere of scientific and technical progress if we want to avoid sinking to the level of a third-rate power.

I would have no hesitation in blaming departmental egotism for ignoring common interests, if the Defense Ministry had sole responsibility for determining the procedure for military service.... They left the rear unprotected, thinking that they were thereby strengthening the country's defense capability. But who can say where the front is and where the rear is, in peacetime? In wartime, where the Army is, is the front, that is where the key events happen, and therefore you send more resources—human and material—there. But in peacetime, perhaps the rear and the front should change places. Peaceful constructive work is the front line, military building is the rear. Yes, the rear should always be strong, but all the same, the front is the front. The rear should work for the front, rather than the front for the rear. Does not economic and scientific progress strengthen defense capability? Is not the molding of a good specialist a contribution to our defense capability?

Soon, perhaps, students will no longer be drafted into the Army. Another good deed on the part of restructuring—it highlighted this issue and helped us to resolve it sensibly. And, moreover, with the help of the military themselves—when new people came to the leadership of the Defense Ministry.

Can it only just have become clear that this is the best thing for everyone? It was always clear. Prominent scientists, educationalists, and interested parties tried repeatedly to raise this question. But basically no one would condescend to engage in dialog with them. They should be only too pleased that they were not accused of pacifism or something worse—the loss of class feeling. In our country we have never discussed everything affecting the Army's interests. You yourselves should realize, the argument went, that strategic interests are at stake. And at the very mention of strategic interests we are all, apparently, ready to salute.

But if you have a department, however special, then you will have departmental interests. And in view of the attitude toward the Army that grew up historically in society, it is the simplest thing of all to pass off its interests as the people's interests.

We have, in effect, two economies—civilian and military. And all the enterprises working for "defense" are under more advantageous conditions than those that serve people's everyday interests. At defense plants working conditions are better, wages are higher, the infrastructure is better developed. This also grew up historically. Our lot was a hard one—we often had to gain our independence through battle and defend in battle our right to follow the path we chose for ourselves.

We grew used to denying ourselves many things for the sake of strengthening defense capability. This position—of strengthening the country's defense capability—is unswerving among the people. But our military system also grew used to being a kind of privileged "class" in society. But the Army and defense industry are not the whole of defense capability. Only part of it. The whole is economic might plus military might. Not for anything do I place the word "economic" first. Especially nowadays. Economic and scientific and technical might first, then military. Without, of course, any conflict between the two. The country must stand firmly on two feet.

Now for something that gives rise to many Army problems. Let us imagine, could we make a good lathe operator or print worker out of every young person without exception, if tomorrow we were to declare it a universal duty not to join the Army, but to be a lathe operator or print worker? But after all, being a soldier, a serviceman, is a profession. And a very complex one. Everything that is not particularly specialized that exists in any military speciality could easily be taught in school and at VUZ's and technical colleges, thereby drastically improving the present standard of military training, of course. But it is extremely difficult to teach everything that is specialized. The Army is at the forefront of scientific and technical progress. We may lag behind other countries in the production of shoes and tape recorders, in milk yields and harvests. But when it comes to the Army's level of technical equipment, we cannot allow anyone to overtake us. And that is only natural. What follows from this? It follows that Army specialities are basically more complex than civilian ones. And is it in everyone's power, with the best will in the world (which is by no means always present), to master his military profession in a strictly limited period? It is doubtless no accident that more and more often one hears regular military men say that a 2- or 3-year term of service is too short to become a skilled missile man or submariner. To master a speciality professionally. So perhaps the term of service should be lengthened, so that everyone has time to become a master of his craft. But even then not everyone would become a master. Not everyone would be capable of it. Not to mention the fact that not everyone is capable of the permanent state of mobilization readiness of the soul that Army life demands. It is not given to everyone to deny himself much for the sake of unswerving obedience to the order, which is sacred to a soldier.

So do we perhaps not need mass recruitment, but selective recruitment to the Army? Should it perhaps indeed be not a mass army, not a partially professional army, as it is now, but wholly professional? Enterprises are going over to economic accountability. Learning to achieve more with smaller forces. Paying better for high quality. Cutting staffs while preserving the wage fund. Could all this be applied to the Army, too? Not by force of numbers, but by skill: That is a pure Army expression. Especially with modern armaments.

As I write this I already know from materials published in various press organs that the opinion of Defense Ministry leaders, eminent generals, and representatives of the higher command on the matter of creating a professional army is unanimous. V. Serebryannikov, Lieutenant General of Aviation said: "The transition to a professional army, even with a reduction in manning levels, would require a sharp increase in expenditure on maintaining it. Where are these additional funds to be found, when our state budget deficit is already very considerable?" Army General M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff said: "The transition to a professional, hired army entails a sharp increase in expenditure on maintaining it, at least a fivefold to eightfold increase. Naturally, such proposals are unacceptable, and our attitude to them should be unequivocal."

Convincing? To be frank, not very. How many times more money will be required? Five or eight? That is a big difference. The careful reader may even doubt whether such an approximate result was preceded by a careful analysis. In my opinion, even if it did indeed become relatively more costly to maintain the Army, that still would not prove that the proposed measure is disadvantageous to the whole of society. After all, the Army does not exist in isolation. And additional expenditure could perhaps be covered by the fact that hundreds of thousands of young men of draft age would continue to work at their jobs, increasing society's wealth. But it is not really clear: Why will new military expenditure be necessary, when there will be fewer shirts and overcoats to be sewn, fewer military camps to be built, fewer missiles, tanks, and aircraft to be manufactured? After all, as I understand it, the purpose of the international accords already concluded or under consideration is to reduce arms production. And that is a major savings. Even judging by openly available information—albeit unverified, American information—the manufacture of one modern military aircraft sometimes costs more than if it were made of pure gold. So if you have one less of that type of aircraft, you have created a very substantial wage fund for the men on professional service.

Incidentally, to judge from the words of Lieutenant General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, this item of expenditure also worries the military leadership. "We must reckon with the fact," he says, "that maintaining a professional Army is at present beyond the state's pocket. I will not be revealing any secrets if I say that a soldier or sergeant in the hired American Army today receives more than an officer or general of ours." It may be said equally confidently that an American worker receives more than a minister of ours. But is that an argument? Why precisely, in remunerating a Soviet professional soldier for his labor, should we rely on American standards, and not our own? Given that the labor of a metallurgist, miner, scientist, or teacher is remunerated with a patent disregard for "leading foreign experience."

And by the way, how many generals do we have? And how many do we need?... What are their salaries, privileges, duties? Various, I understand. A general who commands an army is one thing. A general who commands a song and dance troupe or a sports club is another. Incidentally, the Army illustrates clearly how sometimes a department, creating its own laws, begins to structure its life according to those laws. Army sportsmen, as everyone knows, are given military titles—lieutenant, captain. Naturally, the trainer has to have a higher rank, or how can he command his subordinates? So he is a major, or even a colonel. That being so, a sports club must necessarily be run by a general. One thing leads to another, but there is no kind of logic in it.

It is, of course, a bad thing that "their" soldier receives more than our general. But why is it that in this "accounting" in their favor, our own private soldier has somehow disappeared from view entirely? It would be useful to bear his income in mind, too.

On a recent trip to Hungary, more than once I came across soldiers in a familiar uniform at the roadside, cautiously "flagging down" passing cars—in order to ask for a smoke. My Hungarian driver explained that this is a common phenomenon. "They get paid very little," he said sympathetically. One can easily, from habit, blame the soldiers themselves for everything: They are belittling the dignity of the Soviet serviceman, we say. But perhaps it is time we thought about why they have to belittle themselves.

It was with regret that I read the following sentence in an article by V. Serebryannikov, Lieutenant General of Aviation: "The proposal on, for instance, the introduction of alternative civilian service for those who are unwilling (!) to fulfill their military duty is patently demagogic...." And I assessed it as a sign of being out of training in public debates—it is a long time since all our military men took part in open disputes concerning not particular, but fundamental problems of military building. The word "demagogic" as applied to someone else's opinion is patently not in the spirit of the times. And why not talk about the substance of alternative service, why not talk about it in more concrete terms? It is a serious matter, and not a new one.

Let me quote an extract from the Soviet of People's Commissars decree on exemption from military service on religious grounds, signed by V.I. Lenin: "Persons who are unable, by virtue of their religious convictions, to participate in military service are granted the right, by decision of the people's court, to replace such service, for the specified period for which their age group is drafted, with medical service primarily in hospitals for infectious diseases or other appropriate socially useful work of the draftee's own choice." The decree was adopted on 4 January 1919, not in the most tranquil of times, you realize. But if it was permitted then....

This kind of service successfully operates even today in a number of countries such as the FRG. And it also exists, if you think about it, in our country—only secretly, so to speak, without publicity. And in an unusual form. After all, playing hockey or football in Army uniform is regarded as active service.

I am a civilian. And it goes without saying that I do not have the competence of a military specialist in formulating my conclusions. In my view, if there is to be an open discussion of what form our Army should take, that discussion should be calm and concrete. Fastidiously brushing aside the opinions of "outsiders" is a typical departmental stance. What can "they" understand about "our" problems, people say. At the same time the brief history of democratization to date has already provided a number of instructive examples on this score. Who doubted that the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources was and is staffed by people who are very knowledgeable in their field? Nonetheless, they were the originators of projects that the whole public rose against. Rose against, and showed that the public understands these matters.

We all inherited a sad legacy from past times. The command, bureaucratic style of leadership did not bypass a single ministry or department, a single organization, high or low. We were in a position that is absolutely inconceivable in the context of the triumph of a normal economy and common sense. Factories were producing footwear that no one needed, publishing houses were printing books that no one was buying. In short, the departments existed only for their own benefit. We lived a long time in this antiworld. It is not so very easy to come to one's senses and return to normal. All of us, both military and civilian, are now making considerable efforts to do this. And there is no need to offend one another in the process. Ultimately we share the same true strategic interest—let our native land live, and let it live in such a way that everyone feels confident and calm, that everyone has a normal, prosperous life.

Despite our age-old inclination to seek the enemy within, we have only now realized that the main enemy within is the low living standard. This enemy cannot be stopped with a rocket launcher or annihilated with machine gun rounds. The Army by other means can make a very weighty contribution to peaceful transformations. That is what is needed now.

Estonian Army Veterans Set Up New Organization
PM2303101989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 22 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Captain F. Maspanov report under the rubric "News: Facts, Events, Commentaries": "With a Constructive Mission. New Veterans' Organization Set Up in Estonia"]

[Text] The constituent conference of the United Council of War Veterans, USSR Armed Forces Veterans, and Internationalist Servicemen has been held in the Tallinn

Naval Officers' Club. After a report by Colonel (Retired) N. Solovey and speeches in support of the proposals that were submitted, the conference adopted a statute on the new veterans' organization and a conference resolution. Estonian Academician G. Naan, a participant in the Great Patriotic War, was unanimously elected chairman of the council.

What prompted the emergence of the new social movement? Major General (Retired) N. Aksinin, chairman of the organizing committee, commented on the situation as follows:

"Lately there has been a lack of coordination in the activity of war veterans, USSR Armed Forces veterans, and internationalist servicemen, yet together they can accomplish a great deal, particularly in young people's military-patriotic education and the social protection of veterans. There is a section of the Soviet War Veterans Committee in Tallinn, but there are no such organizations in other Estonian cities. Work is mainly carried out under military commissariats and troop units. Practice shows that this is not always effective. Negative trends have been noted in young people's international and military-patriotic education in the republic and this in turn facilitates the emergence of pacifist sentiments, attacks on the Armed Forces, and demands for territorial troop formations. Moreover, our ranks will be considerably swelled by reservist officers in connection with the Army reductions. I think that they will take over from us participants in the Great Patriotic War. As we can see, there are many problems. Internationalist servicemen also require urgent attention."

The constituent conference has been held. A new social current—the first of its kind—has emerged. The organization will work as part of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of War and Labor Veterans. However, the matter of final ratification of its status is still open at present. As yet there are no similar instances within our country. Opinions also differ on the need for the organization. Here is what Lieutenant Colonel (Retired) N. Malasay, senior secretary of the Tallinn section of the Soviet War Veterans Committee, stressed (he did not attend the conference):

"In my opinion, it will lead to a final split in the entire veteran movement. The republic's Council of War and Labor Veterans council and the Tallinn section oppose this decision."

It must also be said that the press has also published several similar statements. The conference participants expected L. Lentsman, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of War and Labor Veterans Presidium, to dispel the doubts in his speech. But he simply failed to express a clear position. He refused a direct debate. That is hardly the right thing to do.

But let us put the question as follows: Is it necessary to pool the efforts of frontline soldiers, Armed Forces veterans, and internationalist servicemen? The benefits of this are unquestionable, for the correction direction has been adopted. The new veterans organization has great potential, it makes it possible to rally people who have acquired wisdom from life's rich experience and also young people who have served in Afghanistan around the true ideas of restructuring.

However, the tone of certain speakers was surprising. Polemical standards cannot be ignored. It is high time we all realized that you cannot achieve much by stoking passions. Rear Admiral (Retired) S. Smirnov made exactly this point and stressed that emotions distract people from the solution of real political and social problems.

For many people in Estonia the time has come to think and decide. In my opinion, the new organization will assume constructive tasks if normal working conditions are created for it.

Army Wife Describes Hardships of Military Life
PM2303171589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by T. Kobzeva, serviceman's wife, under the "Regular Daily Spot" rubric: "My Husband and I Serve Together: The Military Always Used To Be Respected in Our Country. Why, Then, Has the Profession's Prestige Been Undermined of Late?"]

[Excerpts] Khabarovsk Kray—The military has always been loved in our country, after all, hasn't it? Years of anxiety and the war, the war and years of anxiety.... Training for labor and the defense of the USSR, parades, marches, films.... And looming behind all this the hero in military uniform. Always the hero. What has happened to him today, then? Nothing has happened to him, but it seems that people are ceasing to love him.

Why has this happened? Many people probably do not even give it a moment's thought. It just came about somehow of its own accord. But I think that it has its own logic. First, we began to be less afraid of war and felt more confident. Second, after decades when it was customary either to speak good of the Army or keep completely quiet, it finally became clear that it does have serious problems. Third, in view of the country's difficult economic situation, there is a natural desire to make savings on a peacetime army.

All this is true. But it turns out that this sensible idea is also prompting narrow-minded talk to the effect that military men, without doing anything, receive a pretty big salary and get early retirement, their wives do not work, the quarters in military camps are fitted with every amenity, they get special supplies.... And the image of the military has gradually grown tarnished and sometimes creates an altogether negative impression.

The wives notice certain details above all else: Officers hurry to change into civilian clothes at every opportunity. Previously, they even went on leave in uniform ("I am more used to it that way"), while now they change to pop into town for half an hour ("I am tired of it"). This is not the trivial matter it may seem. No one is indifferent to what people think about his job in society. And the most hurtful thing is that "what people think" and actual life are so completely at variance. [passage omitted]

It is a hard life. There are few civilians who would envy us if they knew what it was really like.

The job that people choose affects their personality, character, and fate. There have always been tightly knit families in military camps. People do get divorced, but that is the most dreadful thing imaginable. A military man simply cannot live without a family and a home. There is constant tension on duty, and fatigue builds up from day to day. (Do you know that an officer's nervous

system is wearing out by the time he is 45?) That is why young lieutenants arrive at the garrisons already married. And those who have not yet gotten married will soon settle down to married life without fail. And the main thing is that they appreciate their wife, the homemaker, the mother. But these young wives, often pampered, also suddenly discover within themselves fortitude, self-control, and patience. There they quickly learn not only to love but to respect their husband, his duties, and his responsibility. But how difficult it is for them!...

Perhaps it is a good thing that the people have stopped loving the successful, self-assured military man of the official posters and those old movie love stories with a happy ending? Looked at coolly, it is easier to understand what life in the Army is really like and to regard officers as people doing one of the toughest jobs. For the time being only girls and children continue to love them. But that, after all, is something....